

# PEACE NEWS

The Weekly Newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union serving all who are working for Peace

No. 72

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2d.

## PACIFISM ON THE MAP

"Let the Politicians Consider the Problem"

CANON SHEPPARD'S election as Lord Rector of Glasgow University is a symptom, or a portent; a reminder of the enormous revulsion against war and warlike ideas in this country—particularly amongst the young.

Which political party will capture this peace-devoted or pacifist vote at the next election?

Let the politicians consider the problem. For the vote will be worth counting.

We cannot resist quoting the above leading article from the *Daily Mirror* of Monday as an introduction to the following. (The vote has since been referred to in Parliament as "that dangerous movement.")

### Not a Sham Vote

From Our Special Correspondent,

ANDREW STEWART

GLASGOW, Saturday.

THE bare figures do not give an adequate idea of the really overwhelming nature of today's pacifist triumph. Not since M. Poincaré was returned in 1914 on the full tide of the war mania, has a Lord Rector been elected, as Dick Sheppard was, by a majority in all four "nations."

(The students are divided into four "nations" according to birthplaces.)

We led from the start of the polling at 9 a.m. until the booths were closed at noon. At one time the voting among the women students showed ten votes for Sheppard for every three for all the other candidates combined.

Half an hour before polling ended we were leading by a majority of over 300. The news soon spread, and desperate last-minute whipping by the Nationalists enabled them to displace Churchill as the runner-up by Macneile Dixon and reduce our majority to 174.

The result came as a shock to all the orthodox party leaders, to the press and to the University staff. All had assumed a Nationalist or Tory victory. Although we ourselves knew we would poll a sound vote, we never dreamed of so sweeping a verdict in our favour.

### PACIFISM'S REAL STRENGTH

In my final appeal to the student body at the open meeting in the Union on the day before the poll I pleaded that only those who were prepared to stand solidly behind Dick Sheppard and take the peace pledge should vote for him. We did not want a sham vote; we wanted to know our real strength, however great or small our number might be.

We now know that there are at least 538 pacifists at Glasgow University. It is well known that a large number of

#### NEXT WEEK

PEACE NEWS will contain a special Armistice

#### CARTOON-SUPPLEMENT

and every seller will need to give a larger

#### ORDER

especially as many may like to keep, or even frame, it; but please assist us by giving that order

#### EARLY

and not later than Tuesday next.

## Conciliation in the Far East

### PLAN FOR THE 9-POWER CONFERENCE

NEXT week the Nine-Power Conference will meet to consider the situation in the Far East. Recognizing that

"the issues raised by present hostilities are wider than the incidents which occasioned them, and involve the whole question of the intervention of foreign Powers in China as well as the problem of international economic relations," the National Peace Council has issued a statement in which it is urged that this conference "should have for its object the laying of the foundations of

### "Business Men"

ALTHOUGH we believe that the principle of cooperation, applied to world affairs, would remove conditions leading to wars such as that now raging in the Far East, and that an economic boycott of Japan is no way of obtaining real peace, we are unable to welcome the attitude of the Cooperative Wholesale Society, which has so far not enforced an anti-Japanese boycott.

Although, at its final quarterly meeting in Manchester on Saturday the chairman said the board was "in accord with any action that will exercise real and economic pressure on Japan" (forgetting that "real and economic pressure" was one of the causes of the war), he added that

as business men in control of a commercial organization the directors must act in the interests of the society and the movement as a whole.

Is the cooperative movement in future to be guided only by "business" motives in its endeavours to promote the cause of world peace?



#### CAUGHT IN THE ACT

of tearing peace bills from the pacifist sandwich-board.

Macneile Dixon and Haldane supporters were with us, but they were not able to join with us because they had already pledged themselves to supporting one or other of these two.

One of the Nationalist leaders is actually a member of the Peace Pledge Union!

It was a campaign on which we can justly pride ourselves, and as for our candidate himself, possibly I am the only one who can say just how much of an inspiration he was to us! His fine personality symbolized all we stood for and his victory has been so popular that when he comes North to deliver his Rectorial address he is certain to receive a tumultuous welcome.

His election will give encouragement to the pacifist movement throughout the world. In the first contest between the old, discredited policies and this novel approach to peace, pacifism has emerged triumphant.

#### DICK SHEPPARD'S THANKS

Dick Sheppard himself says:

Grateful thanks to the very many dear friends and loyal comrades in the P.P.U. for all the telegrams, postcards and letters of congratulation they have showered upon me.

It is physically impossible to write to everybody, so will they please accept this as acknowledgment of their kindness and take it as a personal message to themselves.

Thanks are also due to our Special Correspondent, Andrew Stewart, to whose organization the campaign owes so much.

Results of that success were to be seen so soon as the very night after the election, for at Wellingborough, where Dick Sheppard spoke on Sunday, the Palace Theatre and the Regal Cinema were filled to overflowing with 1,200 and 900 people respectively. Other speakers were Canon Stuart Morris and John Barclay, and all received a grand reception.

At Hackney, too, Dick Sheppard was well received on Tuesday and insisted (as others are doing when the importance of the vote is belittled) that it was no sham vote. The pacifist candidate was elected, he said, because the voters had come to the same conclusion as the Peace Pledge Union.

a new settlement in the Far East to replace the Nine-Power arrangements of 1922."

It is suggested that the Powers represented at the conference, together with such others as may be affected by the issues involved, should

1. Use their fullest influences to secure immediate cessation of hostilities.
2. Simultaneously set in motion procedure for preparation of a settlement.
3. Concert plans for immediate organization of humanitarian relief and assistance for the victims of the war in China.

One of the steps envisaged as an "integral and inseparable" part of action under the second section is the practical consideration of Japan's economic needs in relation to supplies of raw materials, access to markets at present subject to discriminations and opportunities for emigration.

Will the British Government be prepared to support such action? At any rate there has been recognition of the need for conciliation, for Sir Thomas Inskip echoed a plea for mediation, made in Parliament by Sir Archibald Sinclair, when he declared last week that

The best way to relieve the situation in the Far East was not by antagonizing Japan. Nations were like human beings; they could be induced by persuasive methods where they could never be forced by physical compulsion.

Other "integral and inseparable

parts" of the second section of the National Peace Council's statement are:

Restoration to the Chinese Government of political and economic control over all territories inhabited by the Chinese people;  
Cancellation of unequal treaties and privileged positions;

Organization of large-scale disinterested assistance to the Chinese Government in development of economic and social welfare of the Chinese people.

After this demand, on the eve of the conference, for constructive action, it is encouraging to read the words of Mr. Cordell Hull, U.S. Secretary of State, who said last week that there must be a willingness to adjust differences by peaceful means — without the exaction of victory or the infliction of humiliation.

As an unconscious comment came these words of General Smuts, quoted by Sir Samuel Hoare on the same day as Mr. Cordell Hull's address:

At a conference of the nations the U.S.A. can and eventually will join, it can never join an international war office.

### Palestine: Concessions Urged

Speaking as one who had been closely concerned with Palestine for many years, Lord Samuel last week expressed his disagreement with the Royal Commission's report, which, he said, gave no opportunity for Arabs and Jews to express their opinions as to the policy to be pursued.

It was essential, he thought, for Zionists and Arabs to make concessions from their original standpoints to arrive at a settlement, and he believed negotiations should be begun to pave the way for the calling of a conference of both parties under a neutral chairman.

The attitude of the Government itself is indicated by the appointment of Sir Charles Tegart ("who," said *The Times*, has "had great experience of dealing with terrorism in Bengal") as

*Air Raid "Precautions"*

### Municipal Candidates Questioned

**THE following seven questions regarding air raid "precautions" have been sent by South Manchester Peace Council to all candidates in the municipal elections in its part of the city:—**

1. The gas-proof room is the "first line of defence." What does the City Council propose doing with the thousands of families living in one or two rooms, where it is impossible to gas proof a room?

2. Will bomb-proof and gas-proof shelters be built in such areas for the protection of the poor? If so when, and how many?

3. Assuming that gas-proof "tents" for covering prams are effective, what will be done for poor families possessing no pram, or one pram between several children?

4. Will an important industrial centre such as Manchester have the protection of a "balloon barrage?"

5. *Air Raid Precautions Handbook No. 4* (page fourteen) states that "the supply of chloride of lime . . . would be strictly limited, and its use could not be justified on sites of no real importance." Would you define a "site of no real importance?"

6. As an air raid would start with incendiary and explosive bombs which would render many homes no longer "gas proof," how would escaping citizens be protected from mustard gas burns liable to be contracted in the street?

7. Would there be democratic election of local air raid precaution committees, and would they be free from military and police control?

adviser to the Administration.

A resolution which "deplores the action of the authorities in having recourse once again to purely punitive measures, such as the deliberate destruction of houses at Lydda," was adopted by the Emergency Committee of the National Peace Council last week. The Council believes that retaliatory measures "tend only to encourage the violence against which they are directed."

### Reflections & Comments on

## THE METHODS OF DIPLOMACY

by  
**Lord Ponsonby**

**I**NCOURSE between nations is carried on in a variety of different ways.

In days gone by, before the invention of the electric telegraph, an ambassador or minister was an important person on whom rested the personal responsibility of making a decision in a crisis or in any critical circumstances when he could not wait for a dispatch from home, arriving perhaps after weeks or even months by postchaise or by sea.

Now he is at the end of the wire of the telegraph, or even telephone, and can ask for instructions after breakfast and receive them before luncheon, wherever he may be. He can even fly over and have a talk with his chief without any serious delay.

But the multiplicity of channels of communication may, and indeed has, led to confusion.

**T**HE British Foreign Secretary talks to (say) the French Ambassador in London. The British Ambassador in Paris talks to the French Foreign Minister in Paris.

The French Foreign Secretary instructs the French Ambassador in London while the British Foreign Secretary instructs the British Ambassador in Paris (or fails to).

Both Foreign Ministers can make speeches in or out of Parliament, which are reported to the world verbatim an hour after they are delivered.

Dictators are swifter in their decisions because they have no parliaments to hamper them. But it is noticeable that their ambassadors, terrified of using their own discretion, fly home to make sure of what they are to say.

The British Foreign Secretary has not only his own parliament to consider but the parliaments of distant Dominions.

**L**ET us consider some of the methods of conducting a dispute.

**Reprisals** are immediate military action against people who are entirely

### The Only Solution From Our Own Correspondent

The logical argument for pacifism in present-day politics was explained by Frank Shuttleworth, of Ilford, at a meeting held by the Methodist Peace Fellowship in High Wycombe last week.

The pacifist, he said, tried to see the "other fellow's" point of view, and provided the ultimate solution to the present confusion.

The Rev. Leslie Keeble, another speaker, carried the subject into the realm of Christianity. "We, as Christians," he said, "must be prepared to follow the way of the Cross."

The film *Kameradschaft* was shown at the Brotherhood Hall, High Road, Wembley, last week by the local Peace Pledge Union Group. For the first time the hall was crowded, several people being obliged to remain standing.

innocent with regard to the original incident perpetrated by their fellow-countrymen.

**Punitive expeditions** are warlike operations undertaken against undeveloped tribes on the excuse of some unfortunate incident, but generally with the eventual intention of conquest of territory.

**Withdrawal of diplomatic representatives** is a gesture of disapproval of no particular consequence, but causing enormous inconvenience when strained relations demand the presence of an ambassador or minister all the more.

**Dispatch of a special Mission or Commission** may be useful when full investigation of circumstances on the spot is necessary.

**Conferences**, whether instituted by the League of Nations or not, by the meeting together of representatives of the nations concerned are the most likely method of solving the dispute, and at any rate give time for blood to cool and for the arguments on both sides to receive full consideration.

**BOYCOTT of imports** as an expression of popular indignation against the action of some nation against another sounds plausible, but as it cannot be organized generally and completely will be likely to result in some permanent loss of trade.

**Economic Sanctions** to be effective must be complete, immediate and unanimous. Oil, arms and coal can be withheld by one nation but to the profit of some other nation and probably to the eventual loss of the one nation.

**The stoppage of foodstuffs, &c., causes eventual distress to innocent people, and the governors and the rich suffer nothing.** Recent events have proved this method of pressure to be impracticable. It must lead to

**Military Sanctions**, which again, unless they are complete and automatic, will, through blockade and the fact that the convicted nation will have friends and frightened neighbours, extend the area of hostilities and lead to a general conflagration.

**War** is a confession of failure on the part of governments which abandon all the methods of diplomacy, conference and conciliation and resort to the one method which they know cannot settle the dispute, which inflicts colossal hardship, misery and destruction on whole populations of innocent people, which sows inevitable seeds of future wars and inflicts incredible loss for generations to come on both victors and vanquished.

*Arthur Ponsonby*

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"THUS it is since men have conquered the air." That is the caption of this striking picture headed *Progress*. It was sent by our Austrian correspondent, and appeared in *Der Morgen*, September 27, 1937.

#### AUSTRALIA

### MR. LYONS DISOWNS CONSCRIPTION

THE serious apprehension caused among the Ministerial candidates in last week's general election through the anti-conscription propaganda in Australia, and the Labour Party's allegation that the Ministry's defence policy of imperial cooperation committed Australia to conscription in war-time, drew a plain denial from Mr. Lyons, the Prime Minister, in a broadcast speech. He said that conscription had never been considered in London or Canberra.

Mr. Lyons made to the Australian people the "solemn declaration that the Government's policy had never included, and never will include conscription . . . the real warmongers are the Labourites, with their policy of isolation and of leaving Australia unprotected from foreign aggression."

The Lyons Government's victory may in part be attributed to a split in the Labour ranks. The view that no Australians should fight outside their own country has been adopted by the political wing of the Labour Party, while the industrial section was supporting collective security, but not the acceptance of Empire responsibilities.

#### INDIA

### "ONE VAST PRISON" says MR. GANDHI

WRITING on the Government of India Act and the office acceptance in *Harijan*, Mr. Gandhi says, "A *Harijan* reminds me that nowadays *Harijans*, for whom this weekly was started [and not as the organ of the Untouchables, as stated in error last week], have receded into the background and its columns are devoted to all sorts of subjects. . . .

"He is half right. I have begun to discuss questions which have been hitherto deliberately excluded. The reason for exclusion no longer exists. The contrary is the case now.

"In the greater part of India the Congress is both in office and power. It is true that the power is limited. But it is limited in terms of Complete Independence, not otherwise.

"India is one vast prison with

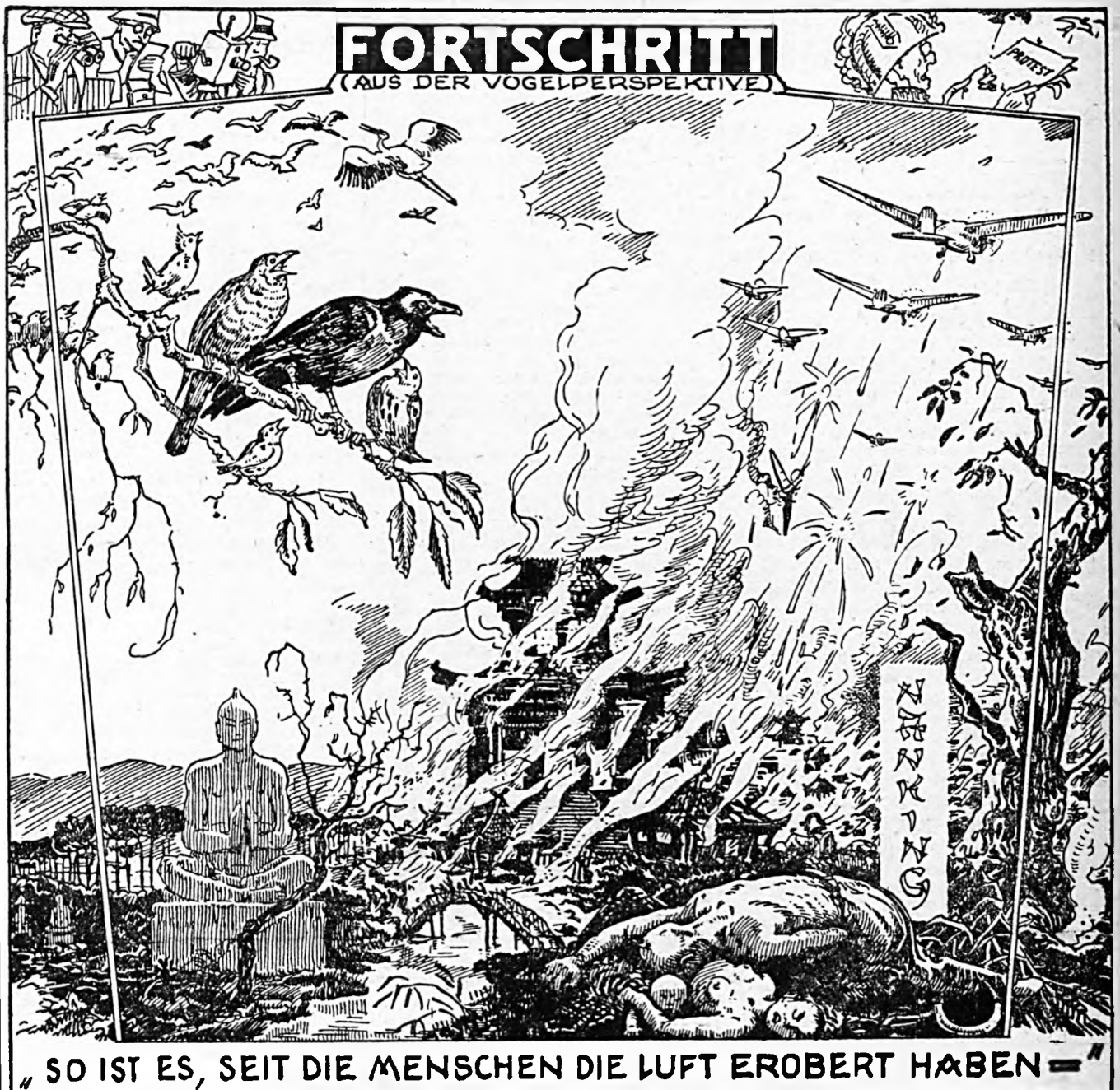
#### CHILE

### YOUTH GIVES A LEAD

AN officially adopted peace message, which has been sent to the Ministry of Education in all the 21 republics of the Americas, was prepared by the boys and girls in the schools of Valparaiso and addressed to the school children of the entire American continent.

The following are extracts from the message.

Children of America! Let us unite in an



#### BELGIUM

### Ex-Servicemen Advocate Civil Resistance

SOME months ago the Flemish League of Ex-servicemen, numbering more than 10,000 members, decided to reject armed national defence, and accept civil resistance to a hostile invasion. A further statement of the point of view of Flemish Ex-servicemen was made by Professor Dr. Frans Daels when, in an address to the League, he said:

It is not our armaments which can protect our nation and our culture, indeed, our entire Western and Christian civilization. Armaments and military warfare lead to the destruction of all cultural values . . . the defence of our nation can only be assured in an honest, humane, moral, and at the same time, efficient fashion by civil resistance.

"With civil resistance we do not disarm, but we organize our defence by non-military methods. The organization of civil resistance without military arms demands a far more difficult, far stricter, far longer training than military preparation. . . ."

Military armaments imply the risk of the formation of a caste, if not of a state within the State. Defence by civil resistance is one with the nation as a whole and in all its particulars. As a social and moral duty this defence demands the highest example, the strongest will power and the most complete sacrifice, first and especially of the leaders. Through national solidarity and unity of the people on a high level it leads to higher international agreement.

"Military armaments and military warfare are only based on brute force and on destruction; they are more than ever inhuman and immoral."

#### FINLAND

### To Advertise War

AT the Pan-Scandinavian Advertising Congress recently held in Stockholm, the Finnish delegate, L. W. Latvala, shocked his audience by inadvertently revealing that Finnish advertising men are being systematically trained in the art of war propaganda.

He declared that the experiences of the Finnish civil war had prompted the general staff to force advertising to keep abreast of the latest developments in the fine art of mass suggestion, a field in which much is to be learned from Germany. The Finnish delegate's blundering talk aroused a storm of newspaper comment.

### Armistice Day

H. W. Austin, Isaac Foot, M.P., Storm Jameson, Canon Raven, R. Ellis Roberts, Canon Sheppard, H. M. Tomlinson invite people of all schools of thought who wish to remember the dead of the World War at a simple non-military ceremony to come to the Band Stand in Regent's Park (near the fountain on Broad Walk) at 10.45 a.m. on November 11

Information and leaflets from MARGERY RAYNE Whitmore Farm, Windlesham, Surrey



## Headquarters' Notes and Comments

By MAX PLOWMAN

96 Regent Street, W.I.

SOME three years ago I decided to write a book about God. Quite a number of people before me seem to have had the same idea; but there should be nothing daunting about that if you happen to think there is a time in life when the recognition of the need for God becomes urgent; and I had come to that point. Actually I completed about half a dozen chapters of the book. Then I came to the conclusion that there was an impenetrable veil of abstraction between what I had written and what I had really set out to write about. So the book remains, and is likely to remain, unfinished.

I make this confession because I think there is a time for everything, and that there can be nothing more tiresome, more boring, or more impertinent than chatter about God at the wrong time. I find myself becoming a complete atheist in the company of people who want to insist upon the importance of their own belief in God and the necessity that I should agree with them on the subject. And in respect of pacifism, I find myself much more sympathetic to the pacifist whose use for God only comes at the end of his plea than to what may be called the red-hot gospeller who happens to be a pacifist because he also happens to be an evangelical Christian. But what I want to insist is that this personal preference of mine is a purely personal preference and of absolutely no importance at all. What is of importance is that I should feel a real bond of unity with any and everyone who can sign the Pledge with conviction. And, personally, I find no difficulty about that.

A dozen of our London members apparently don't feel quite the same. They find it necessary to protest against statements calculated to give the impression that in signing the Pledge one makes "a solemn act of dependence on God." But I don't think any such impression is actually conveyed to anyone: certainly I never signed the pledge with any such proviso. But if others—either because they were more fully aware of what they were doing, or because they could not dissociate their pledge from the rest of their religion—felt the pledge to be this, why in the name of heaven should I object? Because the P.P.U. does not make any profession of Christianity or Hinduism obligatory, does it therefore exclude Christians and Indians from membership? Because I definitely decline to make any sort of religious orthodoxy my reason for signing the Pledge, am I to regard as a heretic one who signs it purely on religious grounds?

Let us get this thing as clear as we can in all our minds. The P.P.U. is not, and cannot be, an authoritarian body without falsifying itself. We can never get, nor do we ever hope to have, conformity of conscience. Every member of the P.P.U. is free to believe just exactly what he likes: he can even believe in war provided he promises never to take part in it again! The P.P.U. is not an inquisitorial board for the discovery of the one and only true pacifist faith and the registration of those whose adherence to a creed is complete. No one can speak in the name of the P.P.U.: he can only speak for himself; and once he is a total war-

## GROUP NOTES

By JOHN BARCLAY

DURING the last four weeks there has been more group activity than at any period since the Peace Pledge Union was formed. From all parts of the country I am getting reports telling me of the progress made and plans for the future. What follows is a brief survey of activities, necessarily incomplete because of space:—

**Bournemouth.** On Friday, October 1, we passed proofs of a pamphlet entitled *Labour's Black Manifesto*. It was an indictment of the Norwich Manifesto issued by the Labour Party in support of the Government's policy for rearmament. I wrote to our group leader at Bournemouth, telling her to be prepared to receive 2,000 copies on Tuesday, October 5, and asking her to see that these were distributed to the delegates at the Labour Conference on Wednesday, October 6. With the help of the Christchurch group leader, who personally delivered the pamphlets to the Labour Party Executive, the work was done without a hitch. Magnificent cooperation without any fuss.

Nigel Spottiswoode has been showing our films to large audiences at **Norwich, Crewe, Sheffield, Wembley, Altrincham, Acton, St. Ives, Gatley** and other places, and nearly every night during November is booked for similar meetings.

These crowded and often overflow meetings have been held at **Coventry, Sutton Coldfield, Eastbourne, Saffron Walden, Newcastle, South Shields** and **Aberdeen**, to mention only a few.

Speakers have been sent to the following organizations—in most cases having been introduced by members of the local group:—Toc H, League of Nations Union, Imps, Cooperative Guilds, Labour Party, Girl Guides, Rotary Clubs, Young Peoples' Fellowship, Boy Scouts and churches of all denominations, including groups of Anglican ministers.

All this goes to show that the "permeation" which Lord Ponsonby spoke of a week or two ago is real and widespread.

Coming events cast their shadows before and plenty of shadows are filling this office as I write. Mass rallies are being held at **Chelsea** and **Golders Green** on November 19 and November 28. (The date of the Golders Green meeting has been changed from November 21.) **Maidenhead**, which, when I formed the group a few months ago, seemed the sleepest and most reactionary place in England, is preparing for a public debate in the Town Hall between Canon Stuart Morris and Canon C. E. M. Fry, of Maidenhead, and for a film show including *Kameradschaft* later in November.

Volunteers are urgently needed for a poster parade and leaflet distribution at **Southend**, and for a demonstration in **Chatham**, next Thursday, against "blackouts." Write, respectively, John L. Long (549 London Road, Westcliff-on-Sea) and Eric T. Roach (60 Belvedere Road, Bexleyheath).

resister, the more sincerely he speaks for himself the more absolute will be his representation of what the P.P.U. stands for. There is no orthodox pacifist policy, and please God, or please Us, there never will be. Yet "we are all one body" in our determination to rid the world of its slavery to war. How it's to be done, each of us has to determine for himself. Our point of absolute agreement is that we ourselves will never contradict ourselves by opposing war and yet being a party to its activity. Let us enjoy our complete freedom and restrain from the smallest attempt to make of our complete freedom and refrain others. There simply is no need or reason for intolerance. We are free to cooperate or not to cooperate with one another exactly as we will.

## PACIFISTS in Elections

—and in the NEWS!

WHAT do you think? We've stumbled upon a way of getting members to send us news!

### From Our Own Correspondents

Inadvertently (owing to misinformation from another organization) we understated Southend's activity. So **Southend** (not the group secretary, as stated last week), wrote that besides their exhibit in Southend Carnival, the group has held six successful open-air meetings on nearly every other Sunday this autumn.

"One important matter which I think is of interest to PEACE NEWS readers," our correspondent writes, "is that there are at least five pacifist candidates in the forthcoming municipal election. They are:

Mrs. A. F. Warr (Pier Ward), Mr. C. Mogg (Thorpe), Mr. M. Baker (Brittlewell)—all three active members of the local group—Mr. H. J. Rawlinson (St. Clement's—standing as a pacifist, a member of the P.P.U.) and Mr. George Wood (Pier).

"I would urge all PEACE NEWS readers in Southend to turn up in force to vote for the above candidates."

### Talking of elections

Please let us know of all pacifists—especially P.P.U. members—elected on Monday in your municipality.

As a result of the desire evidenced at Crich recently for a unifying of the energies and activities in the **Midlands**, a meeting was held in Leicester—where, by the way, William Minty is another P.P.U. member standing for election on Monday—of delegates from Nottingham, Birmingham, Derby, Melton Mowbray and Leicester.

A provisional committee was formed with the usual officers, and secretaries of groups and regions in the area enclosed by Stafford, Peterborough, Newark and Huntingdon are being notified of the urge to form this close cooperation, and being asked to send their delegates to another meeting proposed to be held in the Friends' Meeting House, Leicester, on November 27.

### PLACE IN THE PRESS

A very heartening encouragement after being banned from the market in **Bridlington** was an article in the *Bridlington Free Press*.

It was through selling PEACE NEWS in the streets that our correspondent met the member of the staff who has written so appreciatively of the P.P.U. It is not often a Conservative newspaper would print such a reference to our pacifist movement.

Here are samples:—

A new peace movement, which is spreading over England at the amazing rate of sixty new groups in a month, is attracting the attention of all people who still have some faith left in the future.

It is a great relief to turn the pages of the movement's own newspaper, PEACE NEWS, and to read of the great masses of people in all countries who are striving for peace; of the tremendous enthusiasm shown by the audiences at the mass meetings held by the P.P.U. all over the country; and to have one's mind stimulated and strengthened in favour of peace. You will find it excellent value for twopence, and filled with that encouraging and constructive peace news which seems to be left out of our daily papers.

**Carlisle** had quite a successful meeting Thursday of last week, and the *Carlisle Journal* made it front page news next day, while the previous week

## The Notice Board

Group lunch, Cooperative Restaurant, Parliament Street, Nottingham, November 2, 12.45 p.m. Write Mrs. Millard, 23 Ella Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham. **Car Parades, November 6 and 7.** Meet at Edwards Lane, Sherwood, 2.30 p.m. All having cars please attend.

Conditions for headquarters' library: 1. Charge of 1d. per week. 2. Extra 4d. a day beyond two weeks. 3. No book may be kept longer than one month. 4. Postage paid by borrower. 5. Not more than three books in possession of a borrower at once. 6. No borrower may pass on books to others. List obtainable from librarian, 96 Regent Street, W.I.

### A dozen Members write on

## DEPENDENCE UPON GOD

IF we had regarded joining the P.P.U. as, in Frank Hancock's words (PEACE NEWS, October 16, page 4) "a solemn act of dependence on God," we should not have become members. We are not prepared to make that affirmation.

The F.o.R. is a pacifist body on a Christian basis. If the P.P.U. has no wider basis of membership, it is an unnecessary duplication. If Frank Hancock regards the formation of a group as an affirmation of dependence on God, he is, of course, as an individual, entitled to say that he does. But we know nothing in the constitution or origin of the P.P.U. to entitle him to say, as an area organizer, that it is, or should be.

If a working agreement with non-Christian pacifists is worth making, it should be made wholeheartedly. As non-Christians, working to bring others of our kind into pacifism, we feel that such a statement, made by an official in the official organ of the P.P.U. is a grave handicap to our efforts.

JANET M. MORRELL	PHILIP F. DYER
WILLIAM G. WREN	AIDA PLUCHINO
B. M. WRIGHT	JOHN CARRINGTON
A. C. STANILAND	MORNA MACTAGGART
A. S. B. GLOVER	J. W. B. DOUGLAS
R. BROWN	G. GREER

the Rev. R. E. Brown, a Methodist minister who is their president, opened their intensive advertising campaign with a splendid article which also gained large headlines.

The secretary (who has himself been very active in the campaign) says *the fellowship and cooperation gained among some of the younger members in this work would have been worth while even if the meeting had been a failure.*

"What a fine time we had!" writes **Workington's** group leader of the meeting there last week. "Canon Morris was lively . . . and not only do we feel proud of him, but we received an inspiration to keep us going."

He tells also of a pacifist who decided to drop one of her weeklies and take PEACE NEWS instead.

**Crawley Down** is among those taking up the question of air raid "precautions" again, and the group wrote to Worth Parish Council submitting that

Attacks from the air would be carried out not on the fields and woods of Sussex but on the vulnerable points. . . . Our problem will be the making of arrangements for crowds of panic-stricken refugees from the centres of population . . . at the best a disordered rabble, at the worst scenes of unparalleled lawlessness. These are things which your council might profitably do in view of the possibility of such a debacle, but . . . these can hardly be considered to include the provision of practically useless gas masks and supposedly gas-proof shelters.

**Eastleigh** held their first debate with the Young Baptist Fellowship last week, when a motion "That non-violent aggression is the salvation of the world" was upheld by seventeen votes to thirteen. The group have arranged a series of interchange visits with various organizations, and on November 9 they will address the Co-operative Women's Guild.



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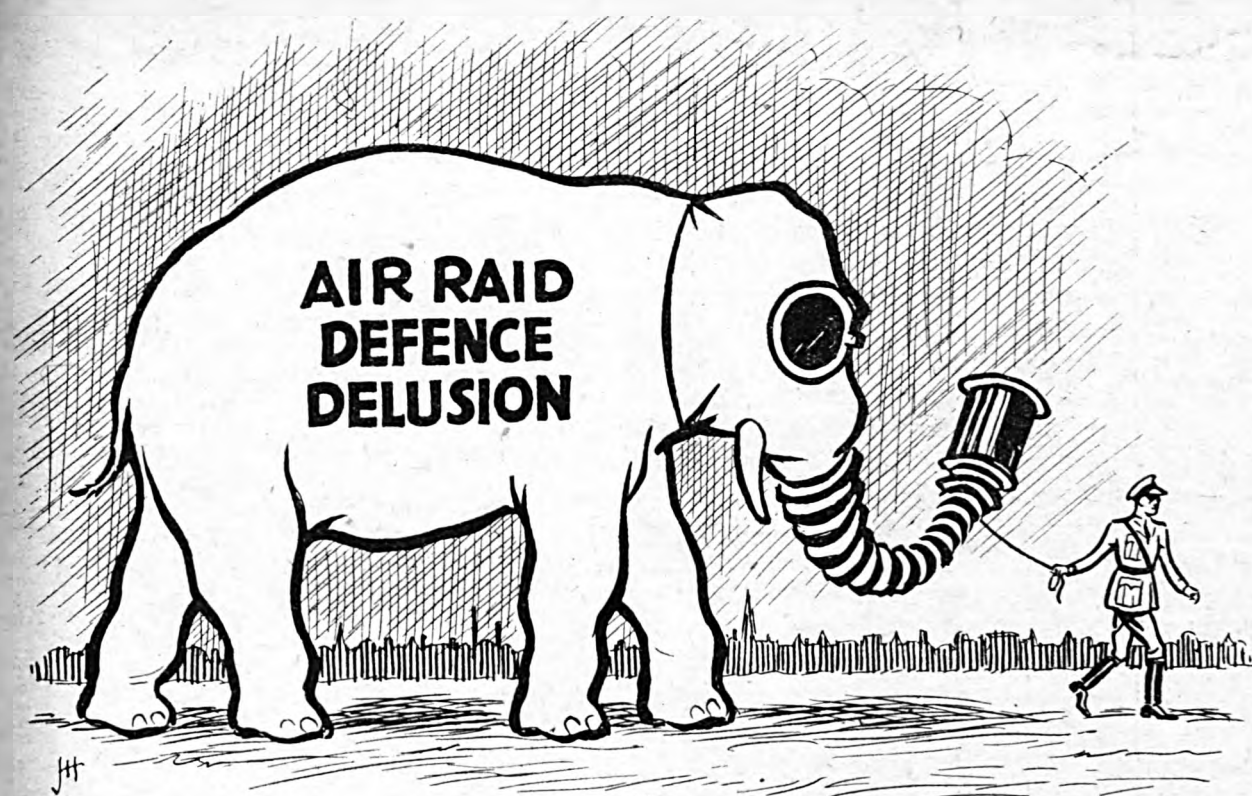
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*The Biggest White Elephant Ever Foisted on the British Public*

THIS cartoon, awarded honour-  
able mention in our art com-  
petition, is by James Henderson.  
Though it "deserves praise,"  
writes Arthur Wragg, "the chief  
fault with this is its lack of subtlety  
(though one mustn't be too subtle  
in a cartoon)."

## FIRST NIGHT

*of new London shows as  
seen by*

**HERBERT FARJEON**

**PUNCH AND JUDY.** Vaudeville.

MR. VAL GIELGUD, of the BBC,  
brings Ruritania up to date  
satirizes dictators; mocks their  
uniforms; shows them squealing under  
treatment for fibrosis by a merciless  
masseuse; explores their difficulties  
when, demanding more babies, they  
themselves make no contribution to the  
next generation; and ends by declaring  
that the world needs to be governed by  
Gentlemen.

Though on the right side, the satire  
is too clumsy and obvious for those in  
agreement to feel entirely happy. The  
dictator who uses a bludgeon should  
not be belaboured with one, but pinked  
with a rapier.

**THE LAUGHING CAVALIER.**  
Adelphi.

HEAVY musical romance with in-  
serted humours. Mr. Arthur  
Margetson as the Laughing Cavalier  
leaves us wondering whether we may  
have Miss Dorothy Dickson as the  
Mona Lisa next.

A chorus of seventeenth-century  
Dutch troops, invading the studio of  
Franz Hals, leaves us wondering how  
he managed to paint at all. And Irene  
Eisinger, flirting as Fru Hals with her  
husband's model behind her husband's  
back, leaves us wondering what she  
will have to say when she gets back to  
Glyndebourne.

## TELL THE TRUTH ABOUT WAR

### Constitution of New Party

The constitution of the Christian  
Pacifist Party, setting forth its aims,  
basis and political principles, was dis-  
cussed by the interim committee at  
Coventry recently preparatory to its  
presentation to the party's first annual  
conference at Birmingham on Novem-  
ber 13.

Two distinct manifestos were also  
suggested, the first as a challenge to  
pacifists, to convince them of the  
urgent need for political action, the  
second addressed to the nation as a  
whole.

Drafts of these three documents as  
planned by the committee are being  
circulated to all members and sym-  
pathizers for consideration prior to the  
November conference.

### Sergeant Who Became a Parson

**From Our Own Correspondent**

The largest hall in Stanford-le-Hope,  
Essex, saw its biggest gathering for  
many years when Stanford-le-Hope  
Peace Fellowship held a public meet-  
ing last week.

Reginald Sorensen, M.P., paid a  
tribute to the democratic spirit of  
Councillor Freeman, a well-known  
local figure in agreeing to take the  
chair of a meeting with the purpose of  
which he perhaps hardly agreed. "War  
is largely an economic matter," said  
Mr. Sorensen. "With good will on the  
part of the rich nations, war can be  
overcome even now and peace estab-  
lished that will bring blessing to our  
nation and the world."

The Rev. R. H. Le Messurier told  
his audience that during the War he  
served not as a chaplain but as a  
sergeant. His conversion came after  
entering Germany when he realized  
that he had been fed on lies.

The Rev. G. H. Morris wound up  
the meeting, which included the show-  
ing of peace films.

### Suggestion at I.P.C. Congress

"BILL JONES, father of four  
children, was blown to a mess  
of blood; Tom Smith, whose mar-  
riage to Helen Tucker was to have  
taken place next week, was reduced  
to gibbering insanity; Harry Brown  
was blinded, but a score of others  
escaped this time."

This is a sample of the new tech-  
nique of war reporting suggested by a  
well-known journalist for use by news-  
paper reporters as "a more honest and  
salutary" method than the military  
jargon which is so familiar.

The proposal was contained in a  
document prepared for the Jour-  
nalists' Commission of the First British  
National Congress of the International  
Peace Campaign held in University  
College, London, on Friday, Saturday  
and Sunday.

"Newspaper men and women are  
well aware," added the document,  
"that a subtle indirect censorship is  
already exercised over the press by  
certain official departments."

### FILM PROHIBITED

Even the congress itself was not free  
from the hand of the censor, for the  
showing of the film *Spanish Earth*,  
made by Ernest Hemingway and Joris  
Ivens, had to be abandoned on account  
of a technical objection which had  
been raised by the Film Censor.

At the plenary session of the con-  
gress a telegram to Lord Cecil was  
read, which suggested a Common-  
wealth Peace Congress in 1938.

The main resolution, discussed at  
this session, recorded the "conviction  
that rearmament is not in itself a pre-  
ventive of war," but went on to refer  
to the alleged readiness of the British  
people "to stand by its obligations  
under the League Covenant" in order  
to insure peace.

At a public meeting held during the  
congress Lord Samuel emphasized the  
necessity for the removal of grievances.

*Please Order Your  
PEACE NEWS  
EARLY*

## Armistice Day can be Used for Peace

### HOW TO CELEBRATE

#### Where to Get White Poppies

ARMISTICE Day will soon be  
here again, and all the usual  
arrangements are being made to  
make use of it, by association, to  
strengthen the war convention.

There will be the poppies with their  
sentimental association with pictur-  
esque battlefields, instead of the reality  
of war; innumerable memorials up and  
down the country suggesting that  
heroes laid down their lives, instead of  
got the death they were giving others;  
not to mention the unsuitable propa-  
ganda of smart uniforms, instead of  
bombs.

But alternatives are now being  
provided for all this.

An invitation has been issued to  
those who wish to share in the world-  
wide observance of Armistice Day, but  
do not care to be present at the  
military parades now generally asso-  
ciated with that day, by

Mr. H. W. Austin, Mr. Isaac Foot, M.P.,  
Miss Storm Jameson, Canon Raven, Mr.  
Ellis Roberts, Canon Sheppard and Mr.  
H. M. Tomlinson

to meet them at the bandstand (near  
the Zoo) in Regent's Park at 10.15 a.m.  
on November 11.

There will be singing by a choir of  
men and boys conducted by Mr. Brian  
Easdale; a few words, which people of  
every school of thought will be able to  
endorse, will be recited and the two  
minutes' silence will be observed.

Buses—74; 2, 13, 23, 48, 121; 169—go  
near the park. Further information may be  
obtained from Miss Margery Rayne, Whit-  
more Farm, Windlesham, Surrey.

There is even to be a substitution  
for, or counteraction of, the red poppy.  
Mrs. Sybil White (of Kilmarnock)  
writes:

Just once a year pacifists can do a hand's  
turn to give practical help to their brothers  
in continental prisons. They can sell peace  
poppies, all profits going to the War  
Resisters' International, which has brought  
back men from Devil's Island, the French  
penal colony, where they had been on life  
sentences ever since they refused in the  
war, 1914-18. *It helps the men's dependants  
and shows, as nothing else can do better, the  
brotherhood of man.*

The poppies are a joy to sell. Everyone—  
even the militarist—is glad to hear of men  
who refuse to fight us!

Wear the poppies with or without the red  
ones in Armistice week, sell them for 3d., 1/-,  
5/- to all your friends. They can be  
obtained at 3/- per dozen from

**Sydney Conbeer, 113 Summerfield  
Crescent, Birmingham, 16.**

"Year by year a greater proportion  
of the nation becomes tired of the  
military preparations held in regard to  
the so-called 'War to end war'," says  
the General Secretary of the Women's  
Cooperative Guild in an appeal to men  
and women to wear a white Peace  
Poppy.

The appeal adds that this organiza-  
tion has stocks of peace tablecloths,  
serviettes and handkerchiefs. The  
former are 2s. 6d. per set and the hand-  
kerchiefs are 3d. each and 2s. 9d. per  
dozen. **There is no profit whatever  
on the sale of these peace emblems.**  
Orders for these and for Peace Poppies  
should be sent to Women's Coopera-  
tive Guild, 17 Prescott Street, London,  
E.1.



## Peace News

Editorial, Publishing, and Advertisement Offices:  
59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11

Tel: Enterprise 1888

### Subscription Rates:

Quarterly: 2s. 9d. Yearly: 10s. 6d.

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post card:—

**I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.**

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

October 30, 1937

### CONSCRIPTION FOR "SAFETY"?

THE effect of an act of simplicity upon a world of complexity is very striking. Looking back on the horror and futility of the Great War, it seems a simple and natural resolution to decide that for yourself, as a human being with a will of your own, you don't intend to have any more of that. Hundreds of thousands of ex-Service men came to that conclusion in 1918. But when Lord Ponsonby, Canon Sheppard and Brig. Gen. Crozier went a step further and said: "Since we have done with war, let us attest the fact in plain terms," they showed themselves to be great enough and courageous enough to perform an act of simplicity in a world of complexity.

"Caught up in the machine" is what we all are today. The Peace Pledge is, in reality, the expression of the simple resolution of the individual to extricate himself from the machine at a definite point in its activity. But it is one thing to form such a resolution and another to fulfil it: not because of any unwillingness on the part of the pledged person, but because—as anyone knows who has actually been caught up in a machine—the practical difficulty of extrication is terrific.

For the machine is all-embracing in that it involves the whole activity of modern society: much more than the modern army it's mechanized, mate. Understanding this only too well, the logician can prove to anyone willing to believe him that the Peace Pledge is invalid because in its strictly logical meaning no one can keep it. He can demonstrate that every activity of modern society is contributory to war and that therefore the only way to extricate yourself from the machine and to "renounce war" is to renounce life itself.

But, as a matter of fact, the logician, in this proof, is the victim of his own abstraction; for he is misled by failing to discriminate between passive and active cooperation in war. He fails to observe that while it is, in fact, impossible for anyone to extricate himself from passive cooperation with war, it is by no means impossible for the individual to renounce his active participation. Though we may be passively contributing to war by buying bread and butter, smoking cigarettes and paying rates and taxes, war itself can never be carried on without the active cooperation of those who have attested their willingness to murder if required. So long as a pacifist declines to fight, he remains a pacifist of some sort, even though his alternative activity may be of the greatest use and service to those who are doing the fighting.

From which we see at once that there are, inevit-

EVERYBODY knows what war is like today.

People out shopping of an afternoon in almost any town or village can turn in for an hour at the "flicks" and see the bombs falling on people shopping in Valencia or Nanking; and if these happenings are still too comfortably distant to be quite "real," there are the pictures which appear daily in our newspapers to press home the significance of those happenings.

Last week one of these was of a screaming baby on a stretcher, its limbs twisted in agony while a kneeling boy scout tried to bandage it. That was also in China. But next morning we were shown the "toddlers" at Dr. Barnardo's Homes in Kent "trying out" gas masks. Crisp and appropriate letter-press (by a male reporter) recorded how, after a most successful fitting, the authorities "paraded" a four-year-old wearing a gas mask "round the other toddlers, as a good example."

The officers at this first fall-in of the Babies' Battalion were Major Sadd of the Gas Defence Experimental Station, near Salisbury, Mr. Kitchenside of the Home Office Air Raids Precautions Department, two doctors and a gas mask manufacturer. Their technique was admirable. No bullying, no tears; nothing but "New Era" methods throughout. "There, isn't that nice? Let's see how you look in it. Hold your chin up, sonny. That's it. Now, isn't that funny?"

And so a new step is taken in this rather ticklish business of getting the public broken in to mechanized modern warfare. You can almost hear the sighs of relief going up all round Whitehall.

"Thank God *that's* got over, at last. Now they think the kids'll be safe we can go ahead."

And they will. The next step is to be the passing of a Bill authorising a 90 percent grant (plus compulsory powers) to Local Authorities for Air Raid Precautions. And so we proceed. One step at a time, following our leaders, while they lead us slowly, but quite logically and

ably, pacifists and pacifists. There are the pacifists who have a sense of true social responsibility, and there are pacifists who have no such crucifical sense. The pacifist with a real sense of his unity with mankind will never rest content "till we have built Jerusalem." The pacifist of the other sort will be content "to abstain from eating meat offered to idols." The perpetual concern of the true, or socially-conscious pacifist must be: At what point in the activity of the war-machine can I offer it effective resistance on behalf of the only society that can be truly called human?

Resistance to Rearmament has proved impossible, though, of course, the true pacifist is not acquiescent to rearmament on that account. But with the failure to stop rearmament, the tide of war begins to creep in. Next comes the seeming harmlessness of Air Raid Precautions. Since the modern Devil must appear as an Angel of Light, they come in a humanitarian guise: they will not only help to relieve unemployment but give protection to "toddlers" against nasty poison gas. They are the complete means of self-deceit for the "safety"-hunter looking for his rabbit warren. Do they afford the pacifist a firm ground for absolute resistance? A Bill is to be laid before Parliament to make these regulations compulsory. Compulsory regulations mean compulsory enactment. Compulsory enactment means compulsory service under military authority. Let those who are pacifists make certain they will recognise Conscription when it comes. Let us have wit enough to see that the power which offers us Conscription for our own "safety" hands us, with this charity, Conscription for war. Take one, take both.

## MAINLY FOR WOMEN

By DOROTHY PLOWMAN

scientifically, up the garden path.

And the leaders themselves? Well, here are a few quotations from some of their public speeches during the last year.

"The whole of Europe is arming—an inconceivable folly for those of us who have the responsibility of governing the great countries of Europe. What good can come of it? . . ." (Mr. Baldwin, November, 1936.)

. . . "Another great war would extinguish what is left of the civilization of the world." (Winston Churchill, September, 1936.)

. . . "If we continue to pile up armaments to the utmost of our economic strength, and beyond it, we shall perpetuate the evils from which we suffer today and bring the world nearer to an even greater disaster than that from which it is only just beginning to recover." (Mr. Eden, January 1937.)

. . . "It is the first task of statesmanship to ensure that mankind is never again submitted to an ordeal such as or worse than we have endured. . . ." (Mr. Eden, April, 1937.)

. . . "We are being forced down a road that ends in a heap of dust and ashes. . . . Well, it is no use kicking against the pricks . . . and for the present at any rate we must continue to follow the path upon which we have entered. . . ." (Neville Chamberlain, April, 1937.)

Now these may be the words of a few of the men who have (or have had) "the responsibility of governing one of the great countries of Europe," but one thing is quite certain, and that is they are not the words of **leaders**. If they were, is it conceivable that we should have continued, night and day, ever since they were spoken, to pile up arms at such a rate in Europe that we are today almost on the brink of that war which will be the end of our civilization? Yet such is the strange hypnotism which the mere name of a member of the Government wields over the mass mind that when one of these gentlemen has the hardihood to confess that the road down which he is taking us ends in hell—but it's no good protesting—we must follow—all we can do is meekly to accept his word for it and fall in at his heels?

But this is to sell our souls to the devil. Because we know quite well what war is today. It is one whole nation trying to destroy another. Such nations are the logical conclusion—the raising to the nth power—of a social system built on profits and trade rivalry and cut-throat competition.

And now behold them, arming to the teeth, beginning to turn the whole blasting armoury of modern scientific invention on each other, so that not even the babe in its mother's arms nor the very sheep on the hills shall escape being blistered and suffocated and blown to pieces. Why? Because there isn't enough trade to go round? Because today only one blade of grass grows where there were formerly two? Not at all. Those may have been the reasons for the fights and fade-outs of primitive tribes of men and certain species of animals, but modern science has changed all that. There is no longer any need for any one of us to live by piracy, or robbery with violence.

This is, or could be, if we willed it, an age of plenty. But only if we as **individuals**, are prepared to help create it. Only if even now, at this eleventh hour, we will stop following those who are no longer fit to lead: plant our feet like mules and say "No. We come along that deathly, ashy road no further. We have sinned enough that way already. And if we can only 'defend our heritage' and 'protect our vital interests' at the expense of everyone else's—in fact, by 'extinguishing civilization' (as you yourselves have pointed out)—then that heritage and those interests are not for us. You can have them."

Our true heritage is a community of living values in which the whole world shares, and national loves and traditions and liberties are a natural part of this organic whole. And our "vital interests?" What are they? And how are they to be protected?

I think D. H. Laurence knew. There is a letter of his to Lady Cynthia Asquith in 1915 (in his published "Letters") that every pacifist ought to read, and every woman, pacifist or not. This is how it ends:—

. . . "It is for the **women** of the land now to decide. The men will never see it. I don't know a single man who would give the faintest response to this. But I still have some hope of the women: they should know that only love matters now, that further destruction only means death, universal death, disintegration."

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## PARS FOR THE PLATFORM

### "Defence"

**THE TIMES** published this week three articles by its military correspondent putting the case for "defence as the guiding aim of strategy" on the part of this country in the event of war, as opposed to attack.

In spite of the "new position in the State" just accorded the Territorial Army—which would have the effect of giving this technically defensive force a say in official military policy—it remains a fact that the great majority of the aeroplanes, for example, which this country is building for "defence" are bombers.

Since all acknowledge that the war of the future will be mainly in the air, this may be taken to be the official policy—as Lord Baldwin put it, "The only defence is in offence." Figures given below emphasize the point, but it is also a fact that the Air Ministry is acting on this principle in training its men.

The latest in equipment is an ingenious mechanical device to enable efficiency in bomb-aiming to be acquired on the ground.

### New Statistics

**THE** following statistics on aerial "rearmament," writes Mr. H. A. Watkins, of Beckenham, are taken from an article entitled "New statistics on aerial rearmament," which appeared recently in *Die Weltwoche* (a Swiss periodical). The effective strengths of the air fleets of the main Powers in June, 1937, are stated to have been:—

	Aggressive	Defensive	Others	Total
Great Britain . . . . .	1,100	500	300	1,900
France (without colonies) . . . . .	900	800	400	2,100
Czechoslovakia . . . . .	250	300	250	800
Germany . . . . .	950	600	350	1,900
Italy (without colonies) . . . . .	850	900	250	2,000
Poland . . . . .	150	300	450	900
U.S.S.R. (incl. Far East) . . . . .	1,700	1,200	700	3,600
U.S.A. . . . .	900	450	400	1,750

These do not include aircraft for cooperation with armies or navies. On the basis of present industrial conditions the comparative output capacities of the aircraft industries can be indicated by the following figures:

Italy 1, Germany 1.5, France 2, Great Britain 3, U.S.S.R. 4, U.S.A. 6.

### Last Resort?

**WE** must be ready to defend the inheritance which our forefathers bequeathed to us. We would defend it by wisdom. We might defend it by good will, by patience and coolness and not showing offence when none was meant, by association with other friendly countries, and by supporting the growth of public law in Europe and observing that law ourselves. We might do all this in defence of our inheritance, but in the last resort we must show ourselves able to defend it by force of arms.

Imagine someone, having subscribed to this principle—outlined (on October 19) by Mr. Winston Churchill—defending the inheritance which his forefather had bequeathed to him against some other person who had disputed his right to the bequest:

Having unaccountably failed to defend my inheritance by wisdom, good will, patience, coolness, not showing offence and friendly consultation with a third party, I now appeal to this court, my lord; but in the last resort I must show myself able to defend it by force of arms.

### Recruits

**EFFORTS** are being increasingly made to stimulate recruiting.

In addition to verbal appeals like that of Sir H. Knox (Adjutant-General to the Forces) when he disclosed the shocking fact that 25,000 more men were employed in the peaceful occupation of running the London, Midland and Scottish Railway alone than are employed in the whole of the Regular Army, learning to kill, such steps as these are being taken:—

The educational tests for recruits are being revised "to eliminate those tests which are considered unnecessary, and to make the path easier for the recruit who is not outstandingly intelligent but who promises to develop into a good soldier." At present recruits have to show they are "outstandingly intelligent" by answering such questions as: "You started out with £1 5s.; you spent 2s. 6d. on cigarettes, 3s. 5d. on tobacco, 1s. 6d. on the cinema and 2s. 3d. on supper, how much had you left?" The *Daily Telegraph* reported on October 19 that "many soldiers are lost to the Colours through failure" in these tests.

Started so recently as August 30, the Admiralty's scheme for training officers of the Merchant Navy in the "defence" duties which they might be called on to undertake in an emergency was already attracting about 800 officers.

### Heroism

**HERE** is one of those much-needed statements of pacifism in terms of action comparable to the heroism which is too often associated exclusively with war:

## A Weekly Commentary

By J. Middleton Murry

# REVOLUTION THROUGH PEACE

**I** GROW more and more convinced that pacifism is essentially a faith; but whether it is desirable to emphasize that it is one, I do not know. That I cannot help doing so is due to my own idiosyncrasy, which, I fear, may be more of a liability than an asset to the pacifist cause. But I take some comfort from the knowledge that I am totally responsive to the words which Dick Sheppard wrote in *The New Statesman* a week ago: "The spirit of Life now requires of every man that he should call his soul his own, and witness quite simply to the truth as he knows it in his own soul."

That, at any rate, is how I feel it; and, since I am a Marxist Socialist also, I know how complex and inordinate are the difficulties in the way of calling one's soul one's own, or rather in the way of keeping it one's own once we have seen the necessity of reclaiming it from the tangle of social and economic compulsions which make it only nominally ours. Since I believe with Thomas Hardy that

If way to the better there be,

It exacts a full look at the worst,

I am deeply grateful to the destiny which compelled me to spend some years in the study of that last of the great Hebrew prophets, Karl Marx. But for him I should never have realized how much there is of illusion and downright unreality in the current conception of the individual as a reality. Marx, of course, maintains that the individual is not a reality at all in the world of modern capitalism: he is merely a creature passive to economic compulsions who deludes himself into a persuasion of his own positive reality: and the paradox at the heart of the Marxian doctrine (whereby, as I believe, it is essentially "religious") is the belief that it is only when the individual has come to consciousness of his own unreality in modern society that he can become real and positive. "Freedom is knowledge of necessity."

I believe that that is true. And that is why I believe that, when Dick Sheppard summons men, in the name of the Spirit of Life, to call their souls their own, it is the summons not merely to a revolutionary change in the heart and mind of the individual, but to a revolution of society as well. To call your soul your own, and to keep it your own, in this modern world, in which the corporate unconsciousness of every great nation is driving steadily toward war—well, there is to my mind nothing more revolutionary than that. Only it is not easy to convey precisely how revolutionary it is. "Calling one's soul one's own" is, after all, a favourite occupation in an individualistic society; and it is very easy for the members of such a society, who have inherited or achieved some degree of economic security, to delude themselves into the notion that their souls are their own. And that is the reason why there is some substance in the criticism that pacifism is primarily a middle-class movement. It is a salutary criticism. And no pacifist will be the worse for taking it to

heart. He will at least see how much of unconscious complacency and unimaginative ignorance there is behind the demand which he sometimes makes that the worker should refuse to make armaments. He will see that before he can with a clear conscience demand that the worker shall cease to make armaments, he must himself have refused to draw his dividends, to receive his rents, to accept his salary; and generally he must have cut himself off from the whole economic nexus of modern society, of which armaments-production is an integral part. The pacifist who does not realize that modern society is an economic whole which is today being kept in motion chiefly by armaments-production has a great deal to learn.

In other words, you cannot call your soul your own while you live (as we all do) by your dependence upon the economic whole of modern society. You would have to "come out" from it; and that you cannot do. Nevertheless, you can call your soul your own in a limited, but terribly important, sense by publicly declaring your intention to have no part in war: for that means that at the moment when the inhumanity of this inhuman society is blatant, you will "come out" from it. Only here again there is room for illusion: room for precisely the same sort of unconscious complacency and unimaginative ignorance that is manifest in the demand that the worker should refuse to make armaments in time of "peace." There are still a great many people who believe themselves to be pacifists, yet think they will have kept faith if they decline to be implicated directly and visibly in war. That is not enough. The licence to conscience that the totalitarian state of today will give while making war is only a licence to assist it in the "peaceful" departments of war-making. The pacifist who is content with that is exactly like the Inquisitor of old who, having condemned a heretic to death, refused to shed his blood, but handed him over to the secular authorities to do the burning. The Inquisitor called his soul his own; he "kept it clean."

Nothing less, finally, than absolute non-cooperation with the modern state in time of war is required of the pacifist. That is the only way he can really call his soul his own; and I have not much doubt that in doing so he will find it belongs to something or somebody else after all. But it seems to me plain that the more clearly the pacifist realizes what is involved in the simple process of calling his soul his own, the more formidable and powerful will the pacifist movement become. It may not become numerically stronger: though I believe it would even increase its numbers. But the essential thing, in my opinion, is to realize that pacifism cannot be less than a revolutionary faith: it involves a revolution in the inward man and compels a revolution in the society to which it belongs. The pacifist who is afraid of the word "revolution" had better seek another faith. Pacifism is revolution through peace; if not, it is the opium of the middle-class.

(Concluded on page 11, column 4)



## Authority for World-Unity

GOD OR THE NATION? J. Middleton Murry. Peace Pledge Union. 2d.

Reviewed by Stephen Hobhouse

THE central argument of this most thought-provoking essay (32 pages) is as follows.

The literally quite vital problem of our generation is to "get into the bones of the ordinary man the incontrovertible feeling that there is a supernatural authority" of an essentially religious kind, which makes him give his allegiance and his reverence to the world-unity of mankind instead of to the mechanized national State of today.

The only alternative is the continuance of disruptive nationalism and wars that can only end in destruction.

To the limited ancient world of Western culture, the Roman Empire for some centuries provided such an authority. The Catholic Church followed the Empire as at least a mighty restraining force, with its mysterious ideal of world-unity set forth in the sacrament of the altar and the worship of the Christ to whose body all Christians belong.

But the Church betrayed its trust and has long since surrendered, apparently irrevocably, to the disintegrating forces of nationalism.

### COMMUNITY

The peace of Cæsar is impossible of attainment today. The Church in its present form must die. Nevertheless it must be somehow reborn. Just how reborn is doubtful.

Perhaps it will be largely through a revival of the village community naturally acknowledging the essential unity of all its members with one another and with the God of nature and life.

But whatever form the new Christian Church may take, "we are driven to the necessity of religion and the inevitability of God," of a God whose worship supplies to the individual the reality and feeling of world-unity and the sanction of the future supernatural world-authority.

To check the fighting voracity of the mechanized nations now madly rushing to their doom, all that is needed is a realization of the "mystery," at once so simple and so sublime, that "Man cannot give to Man save through God."

### SENSE OF OBJECTIVE

Perhaps not everything in Middleton Murry's argument is altogether clear. Many will shy at his use of the word "God"; others will not accept his views on machinery and town-life; others may question some of his historical generalizations as to empire, church and so on.

But few pacifists will doubt the value to our movement of its eloquent presentation of the imperative need of fostering some such religious sense of our ultimate objective.

It seems to me quite likely that the reading of this pamphlet may make an effective contribution to the conversion of some of our many sincerely religious critics, especially of such who already possess a faith, not too fixedly dogmatic, in a Christian God and a universal Church.

The message on our responsibility in the conflict in China, issued by the Northern Friends' Peace Board and quoted in PEACE NEWS, October 16 (page 5) is now obtainable as a leaflet from Spring Bank, Rawdon, near Leeds.

Recent . . . . \*

A Non-Pacifist Says

## P.P.U. HITS THE TARGET

by David A. Peat

I CAN assure readers of PEACE NEWS that in *What Are You Going to Do About It? (2), Aims and Basis of Active Pacifism* they will find an impressive and illuminating document. It was handed to me by Clarence Tritton, who went to prison for his pacifist convictions during the War and knows this subject from much more than the theoretical angle.

Here, in my opinion, the Peace Pledge Union has scored a bull's eye.

What Darwin's *Origin of Species* did for natural science this pamphlet may do for the popularizing of the philosophy of pacifism. It is unsigned, but as paragraph follows paragraph in masterly succession the impression of literary quality and cogent reasoning steadily increases.

The impression left on the mind is not that of a movement on the defensive—how often pacifist literature leaves that impression!—but of a great uprising of the human spirit, clothing itself in the luminous garments of reason, and marching forward to victory.

Here are a few paragraphs which show the quality of the stuff.

It is clear that the movement cannot be founded on a mere protest against war. We have to say not only what we won't do, but also what we will do. It is not enough to tell the Government what it must not expect of us; our business is to tell it what to do and how to set about doing it. Nor are mere words sufficient. Pacifists must prove the excellence of their policy by acting it.

Unless activism takes the initiative against the world as it is, and starts to spread its way of life as a social pattern that embraces not merely the whole man but the whole of mankind and the world in one system, it must fail. Activism must aim at "world power or downfall"; it has no other choice. If it does not advance it will be eroded.

It cannot be a private way of living, a quiet tea-party in a lunatic asylum, an *imperium in imperio*. It must be the next step in civilization and it must realize that it intends to make obsolete the whole of those ruinous and squalid slums of the mind in which we today are dying.

Every reader of PEACE NEWS should get this pamphlet and read it carefully. I am not a member of the Peace Pledge Union, but "almost thou persuadest me," I have to exclaim, when laying down these statements of the non-violent position.

## YOU NEED THESE NOW

ARMISTICE DAY LEAFLETS (series of four). Northern Friends' Peace Board, Spring Bank, Rawdon, nr. Leeds. Each leaflet 1s. 3d. per 100, post free.

LEAFLET number one asks "What will YOU think about during the Silence?" and quotes a strong renunciation of war from *The Unknown Soldier*, by Dr. H. Emerson Fosdick. The second is in the form of a Manifesto for Peace and Disarmament, while the other two contain suggested and well-worded thoughts for the silence.

*Patriotism Ltd.*, the play written by Mr. L. du Garde Peach, has been licensed without cut by the Lord Chamberlain, after being rewritten and an undertaking given that one character is not to make up as Signor Mussolini. The play was cancelled in its original form by the BBC.

THE producer should not interrupt the last two or three rehearsals, which should be as much like performances as possible. It is as well for him to make notes of any points particularly needing correction and at the end of the play, or of each act, to call the company together and mention these points to the actors concerned. This is the best method also for the dress-rehearsal, to which we now come.

Try to get as many as possible of the difficulties of scenery, lighting and clothes settled before this rehearsal begins. This is a big item and, even so, certain things are bound to go wrong and need adjustment, causing delays and disappointments, but there will be less confusion if as much as possible is done beforehand. (And, touching the subject of disappointment, remember that it really does seem to be true that, the worse the dress-rehearsal, the better the performance.) Before you begin, then, the stage must be properly set (remember things like ornaments, flowers, pictures, fireirons); the lighting effects must be arranged with the electrician, and the scene-shifting arranged (to be done in the minimum of time) with the helpers responsible for it. See that everyone has his job and knows what it is. Start

## UNITING CHINA

CRISIS IN CHINA. James M. Bertram. Macmillan. 10s. 6d.

BASED on the capture by rebel troops of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, this is a vivid revelation of movements in China prior to the "greater crisis" which has developed since the book was printed. A postscript says:

Readers of this book will appreciate clearly the reasons behind this sudden resort to war on a large scale. While a disunited China whose military resources were devoted to "unifying" campaigns against the Red armies of the north existed, Japan's task of slow economic and military permeation was comparatively easy.

The postscript explains, however, that in China, through a maze of differing parties and conflicting interests, there was a steady growth of understanding and unity on one point—resistance to Japan.

This book, an eye-witness account, has been written in the hope that it may contribute to the sympathetic understanding of some of China's difficulties today.

## More About Plays—11

the rehearsal on time; rehearse with the curtain, and with the overture, if you have one; rehearse the "curtain-calls" and be sure that everyone knows the proper grouping for the company when it comes before the audience (which we will suppose to be clapping madly) at the end of the play.

Among the things particularly to be attended to at the dress-rehearsal are, of course, the clothes and the make-up. If the play is a costume-play the producer should hold a dress-parade before the rehearsal begins and make sure that nothing is wrong with the dresses. Even in a modern play, it is quite possible that two women will propose to wear clothes that "clash" with each other, or that a man will propose to go to a Mayfair wedding in a morning-coat and a bowler-hat.

Make-up is a big and important question which there is unfortunately no room to discuss fully here. It is bound up with the question of lighting. When the lighting is strong, make-up should be strong in proportion, since light tends to absorb colour. Remember that, when you mix colours, another colour results, and be careful of make-up when coloured lighting is

\* Publications

## AN INSANE WORLD

ON INSANITY by Leo Tolstoy. C. W. Daniel Company. 1s.

IN this book, written in 1910, the year of Tolstoy's death, and now published for the first time, the author, after discussing insanity as it was understood at that time, says that "in that condition are the great majority of the people of this so-called Christian world of our time—either getting ready to commit suicide or to lead that senseless sorrowful life which people in similar condition of mind cannot help leading."

Tolstoy deals with some of the happenings about that time, including the Austrian Government's annexation plan, as opposed by the Serbian, Turkish and Bulgarian Governments. "Those few people who desire this annexation," he says, "as well as those who are opposed to it, want, in order to settle the disagreement, to compel a few hundred thousand men of different nationalities to start killing each other. . . ."

One would have thought it quite obvious that millions of people, being endowed with reason and moral sentiment, would not, without knowing why or what for, readily submit to a ruthless deprivation of everything that is dear to man and set out, at the command of some unknown people calling themselves the Government, to kill people they do not know, and that therefore it would be impossible to expect that what the governments with their diplomats decide upon will happen just as they desire it to happen. . . .

People acting like those who order others to accomplish such deeds, as well as those who will accomplish them, are in a state of insanity. Not in any figurative or exaggerated sense, but literally, in the most direct sense of the word.

### NEW POSTER

A lettered poster just published by the Friends' Peace Literature Committee for the Northern Friends' Peace Board, bears the wording

**DID the last war DEFEND  
DEMOCRACY? Just think—and  
don't be caught again!**

Mr. W. J. Brigden, honorary secretary of the Pacifist Esperanto League, 232 Sellincourt Road, Tooting, S.W.17, is trying to get up "a practical plan for large scale introduction of Esperanto in cooperation with Press, films, radio, and organizations of all kinds."

used: the very unreal blue usually thought to represent moonlight makes a lady with a nice pink make-up go purple in the face. Pure white light is hard and unforgiving and should be avoided: tone it down with amber or perhaps pink. Sunshine is yellower than one would think. Sunsets are seldom crimson; they are more generally orange, and so is firelight. Be careful of strong lights overhead and weak footlights; this causes the eyes to become black holes of shadow and leaves a permanent smudge of shadow beneath nose and chin.

It is absolutely essential that the technical side of the show should be got into good working order at the dress-rehearsal, so that every possible technical hitch may be eliminated. How dismal are those performances at which lights go out in the wrong place, which lights go out in a dead silence when one of the characters remarks, "Hark at the crowds cheering" and at which, after a particularly telling last line, the curtain fails to fall.

But these are points for next week, when we come to the performance itself, after which my own little performance in this column will be all over—bar the clapping, of course!

R. H. Ward



# AN WORLD

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H. Ward

## SUPPRESSION OR CURE?

by Francis Bell

WITH all due respect to the individual members of the police forces and officials of the world, as men who, in the main, are discharging a difficult and arduous duty to the best of their ability, I have no hesitation in saying that police methods will never eradicate crime. They are dealing with effects, not causes.

The same thing applies to what is termed "collective security" by the use of the armed forces of the nations.

Crime may be forced under the surface for a time, and because of lack of opportunity be less apparent. Like a medical man suppressing the symptoms of disease only, the cause remains untouched and will ultimately break out in some unexpected and irresistible manner, ending in the death of the patient, and in the case of crime between men and nations, the destruction of society and of civilization itself.

People are dishonest because they covet something that others possess and they take it by stealth or force. In competitive business the same motive is the driving power—the love of money—though less crude methods are adopted for its accomplishment, while imperialism is a combination of both methods of gaining possession.

The whole system of our so-called "civilization," in spite of our religious profession, is based on a wrong foundation, that of "the love and service of self."

Unless and until we are prepared to rebuild a new civilization on a new foundation, that of love and service of our fellow men in a World Cooperative Commonwealth of Free Peoples, acknowledging the common origin and oneness of all men in "the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man" in which all the products of the earth will be produced and distributed according to need and not for profit, just so long will things go from bad to worse with recurring holocausts and change in the balance of power.

In a world cooperative State, competition for the enrichment of the few at the expense of the many will be replaced by the cooperation of all for each. The advancement in scientific knowledge and improved machinery will be used for the general upliftment of humanity, shortening the hours of labour, improving the working and social conditions of the people and making adequate provision for old age and infirmity instead of the dole and the poor-house or parochial relief.

By eliminating the cause of war (the competition for possession), the expense, material, time and men now used for destructive purposes would be liberated for constructive purposes. That in itself would revolutionize the conditions of the populations of our so-called civilized nations.

In this way we shall harmonize with the great law of "Love" as all the great spiritual teachers of humanity have taught, that of doing unto others as we should like to have done to ourselves.



Dealing with effects, not causes.

## A Novelist on Pacifists

THIS is what Sir Philip Gibbs says of the new faith of youth in his book *Since Then*—

It is not weakness of character, or cowardice or the neurosis of a shell shocked world which makes these young men of today unashamed to call themselves pacifists—though some of them may be "nervy" and devitalized.

It is an intelligent understanding of the furious folly of war which makes them contemptuous to such words as "glory" and "heroism" . . .

They are coldly cynical of recent history which led to the great massacre in which their fathers and elder brothers died.

They are looking to other methods of adjusting national differences. . . . Among the older minds in the world today there are few willing to take a chance for peace.

And there will be no peace unless the younger minds, the very young minds as yet unknown, to whom the Great War will be only a remote historical episode, formulate some new relationship between their tribes of youth, abolishing the old frontiers of the mind as well as of the map, abandoning the intense egotism of nationality, with its savage jealousies, and linking up the world in larger confederations because their present divisions are out of time with the increasing speed of communi-

## PACIFISM AND THE PUBLIC

by A. STEPHEN NOEL

### 2. Destruction.

FROM time to time, the general public, seeking something tangible on the road toward peace, is perturbed by the fear that if, as the pacifist suggests, a nation disarms and proclaims the fact to the world, it may be trampled upon. They hold up the position of Abyssinia, and even of Spain or Manchuria, forgetting that in each case no question of disarmament or pacifism entered into any of the three occasions cited.

If it be true that a country which has disarmed and proclaimed its disarmament is to be trampled upon, the man who makes the suggestion should ask himself what he would do if he were sent fully armed to, say, Germany, after that country had disarmed itself and proclaimed to the world that it was defenceless, and if he were met in Germany by cordial good will.

### WOULD YOU DO IT?

Would he be prepared to bomb women and children and run bayonets into civilians? If so, he is justified in his belief that a disarmed country having proclaimed its disarmament would be subject to extinction.

If he does not believe that he and his fellow-countrymen would be capable of such actions, there is no reason for him to suggest that other countries would be ruled by baser motives.

The point which such a questioner always overlooks is that we are not expected to deal with a case where suddenly, at the sight of the enemy, a country lays down its arms.

We are dealing with the proposition that a country, in time of peace, disarms itself and informs the world that it will no longer rely upon force of arms. In such circumstances one does not believe that the risk of destruction is great.

That there is some risk is not to be doubted; but such risk is infinitesimal compared with the absolute certainty of destruction which arises when a country prepares itself for defence, and when the conflict comes has not proclaimed to the world that it is relying on moral force, but by word or implication informs mankind that it is relying upon material armaments and subtle diplomacy.

cation.

Perhaps it is coming, that new faith in broader camping grounds of fellowship among the leaders of tomorrow.

## FILMS

### More About P.P.U. Scheme

A NUMBER of successful P.P.U. shows have been run and each time the group has found that about eighty percent of the audience consisted of people they had never seen before. The film programme is thus showing its value in getting at a new audience.

ADVERTISING. It is suggested you make a point of advertising the shorts of Dick Sheppard and George Lansbury. These should be quite good draws!

TICKETS. Try having a limited

number of tickets at prices above 6d.—there are usually a few people who can afford them. But don't forget entertainment tax.

FREE DATES. There are still a number of free dates in December. It is hoped some groups will make use of these. Also November 19 and 22, preferably in the South-East part of England (London and home counties).

FOR HALLS ON D.C. An extra charge of 7s. 6d. will have to be made for use of a rotary converter.

HIRE CHARGE. 5s. each short film per day, plus carriage. Special

## That Problem of Originality

### AND HOW ONE GROUP SOLVED IT

POSTER parades, study teams, public meetings, open-air meetings, Press propaganda, the sale of PEACE NEWS—these are means used by every live group in order to make "the man in the street" realize that the present policies of all the large Powers can lead only to chaos and utter ruin.

One of the greatest difficulties facing every group leader is the need for something really original, something that will fill that often half-smothered desire to express in practical form our belief in world brotherhood and co-operation. A scheme that was carried out by the Wembley Peace Pledge Union group, with considerable success, might be of general interest.

Briefly, the idea was to organize a "balloon race" in aid of the Wembley Hospital during the local carnival week. Attached to the balloons were labels carrying the necessary instructions for anyone finding them, together with the words "Greetings of goodwill and peace from Wembley."

### MESSAGE ABROAD

By this means it was hoped that the hospital would benefit financially, the group itself by the publicity associated with the effort, especially in the Press, and that possibly a few of the many people sending or finding the balloons might be influenced by the message on the label. This last point is, of course, of even greater importance, so far as the finders are concerned, should any of the balloons actually land in another country.

The results exceeded all expectations. The local Press printed details of the idea on several occasions; the balloons sold very well; and to cap it all, the group was asked to repeat the whole event at the carnival in Kenton, which was organized by the same hospital a week or so later. Altogether on the two occasions 1,698 balloons were sold for 2d. each.

It was also very surprising to find how many people were interested in the cause of peace and only too willing to discuss it with members of the group. The idea, so often entertained, that pacifists are necessarily outsiders, and opposed to anything and everything in public life, was rudely dispelled by this piece of co-operation and social work—this example of group pacifism and frank open discussion in operation.

rates for block bookings.

Also a trailer (silent) advertising PEACE NEWS—hire charge: 1s., plus carriage.

Hire of the 35 mm. copy of *Kameradschaft* can be arranged. Write Nigel Spottiswoode, P.P.U., 96 Regent Street, W.1.



## HITLER AND PEACE PACTS

WHEN I attack fascism I do not attack the German nation. The spirit of fascism is a deadly and destructive thing, and the fact that we are pacifists does not absolve us from the responsibility of combating its influence in every legitimate way.

Mr. Laurie does me less than justice when he considers me as a victim of an "Eidolon" of modern Germany. In point of fact, I take little notice of the Press and less still of politicians. I prefer to get my information from reliable sources—not least of which is *Mein Kampf* itself.

To anyone who honestly studies the extraordinarily clever methods by which a whole nation is hoodwinked, dragooned and beaten into subservience to its capitalist rulers, the statement that National Socialism is "one of the most remarkable ethical movements . . . calling for brotherly love and service between German and German" is just laughable.

Why does Mr. Laurie continually harp upon the alleged fact that National Socialism has no aggressive aims? One doesn't have to read the "garbled" newspaper reports of speeches to realize that German fascism—or any other fascism—is aggressive. To study *Mein Kampf* is quite sufficient.

The Soviet Union is not trying to undermine the German Government by staging a communist revolution—and Hitler knows this as well as anyone else. If Trotsky had had his way, this might have been the case. But Stalin's policy is to concentrate upon socialist construction within the U.S.S.R. itself.

Hitler's aims for expansion in Eastern Europe are frankly aggressive, and need no emphasis from me.

This answer to Mr. Laurie has but one object: to emphasize the danger to the logic of the pacifist position that is created by trying to be so impartial in our judgment of foreign affairs that we unconsciously blind ourselves to obvious evils and even, more unconsciously still, defend them.

ALEXANDER C. SPENCE.  
54 Dresden Road, Highgate, N.19.

### FACE VALUE

A. P. Laurie's attempt to whitewash the National Socialist Government of Germany can carry little weight with those who know conditions there as they really are.

It is difficult to imagine why he should be able to attribute more honesty to Hitler than to the spokesmen of our own Government, as he apparently does when taking the speeches of the former at their face value, but seeing ulterior motives behind those of the latter. There is probably about as much (!) good faith in both.

True pacifism would seem to me to involve recognition of the present un-

## LETTERS to the EDITOR

### You Know Someone to Whom this Applies—Show it him!

I AM surprised and distressed to hear that the circulation of PEACE NEWS is not larger. I can believe that there are some few who literally cannot afford to take the paper, but I had imagined that, with these few exceptions, every member of the P.P.U. would, as a matter of course, be a subscriber.

Probably in the opinion of some, PEACE NEWS is not so good as it might be. Few things are. But every week it contains some extraordinarily good stuff. And I am certain that with proper support it would at once become a really first-class paper—in format and in every other desirable way.

Having regard to the fact that we continue to be largely ignored by the London and provincial Press, I do think it very important that the circulation of PEACE NEWS should reach at least 100,000 copies per week. And it should do so at once.

I should like every member of the P.P.U. who can possibly do so to take one copy regularly. Perhaps many of us could afford to take two copies, even if it might mean that we must discontinue some morning or evening paper. We can always leave a copy in a bus, train, or restaurant, or send it on to a friend.

27 Marsworth Avenue, Pinner, Middlesex.

HUGH N. KEELING.

pleasant state of affairs in Germany, Italy and elsewhere, while appreciating that the ultimate responsibility for them rests as much with ourselves as with the peoples particularly concerned, thus necessitating application of the pacifist solution to the problem.

DORIS PARTINGTON.  
7 Clifford Way, Dollis Hill, N.W.10.

May I congratulate Mr. Laurie on his admission that

in order to get the people up to the fighting point they (the world's rulers) prepare the way for war by a false propaganda by which they create an "Eidolon" of another nation in the public mind, which is so horrible that the people rush to the slaughter of the unfortunate inhabitants of another country, under the delusion that they are killing the "Eidolon."

This is, of course, exactly what the ruler of Germany is busily engaged in doing, in continually presenting Russia as beyond the pale of humanity.

Mr. Laurie's superlatives are, I think, a little too crude to take in the average pacifist—although they must give occasional readers of your paper a queer idea of what pacifism is.

There is, however, a much more subtle form of Nazi propaganda which has also, I regret to see, found a footing in your otherwise excellent paper. In your issue of October 9, A. E. Southern writes recommending, no doubt quite honestly and in good faith, the German "League for the Cultivation of Personal Friendships Abroad" as a non-political association. Actually no non-political associations are allowed in Germany today. By the *Gleichschaltungs* decree of 1933 the committee (*Vorstand*) of every association and club is legally bound to have a majority of members of the Nazi Party—even village choral societies or tennis clubs came under this law, and all those which did not comply were disbanded. This is what is meant by the Totalitarian State.

That does not mean that pacifists should necessarily cold-shoulder their advances, but let us act with our eyes open and not be deceived into thinking that the advances made by official or semi-official Germany can be taken at their face value.

H. J. SCROGIE.  
63 Morieux Road, Leyton, E.10.

### QUESTIONS

May I ask your correspondent A. P. Laurie a few questions?

What proof has he that the treatment of the Jews in Germany has been grossly exaggerated here? Naturally, the propaganda service of the Nazis

tells him so, but is that proof? This treatment, he says, is "the one black spot" on the Nazi movement.

Has he never heard of the persecution of Christians, both Roman Catholic and Protestant? Has he never heard of Dr. Niemöller and dozens of other pastors who are in prison without any charge being brought? Has he never heard of the judicial murder of van der Lubbe, a weak-minded youth, for arson, and that under a law which was only passed after the offence? Has he never heard of the imprisonment (again without any charge, let alone trial) of Thälmann, to mention only one of thousands of non-Jews? Has he never heard of the "purge" of 1934 when Hitler arrested and shot down his own lieutenants without even the form of a trial?

I frequently receive by post English translations of Hitler's speeches and other propaganda, and no doubt it is from such as these that Mr. Laurie concludes that the Press publishes only "garbled selections." One only needs, however, to listen to Hitler's speeches on the wireless to hear for oneself that his lip service to peace is for foreign consumption only, and that it is the official translations which are garbled.

Has Mr. Laurie read *Mein Kampf* in the original, unexpurgated edition? If he would do so he would find a different reason why Hitler is "indignant with the Soviet."

I have relatives in Germany who might be victimized for this letter, if published over my name, so may I ask you to allow me to sign as

B.S.

### Martyrs

N. H. Morton, writing (PEACE NEWS, October 16, page 9) on the Maccabees—whose opponent, Antiochus, by the by, your compositor has unkindly called Antrichus—says:

We may surely class the Assideans amidst the martyr throng—those of them who did not resist by force of arms.

Is the qualification necessary? It may give some of us pacifists satisfaction to consider our fellows of the past as actually, or ourselves of the present as potentially, worthy of this designation; but need we churlishly refuse it to those who, not sharing our conviction, but holding its opposite perhaps no less loyally and sincerely, give their lives while resisting by force of arms on behalf of a cause in which they believe?

Their tactic, indeed, may have been wrong; but it is not tactic, but intention, that makes the martyr.

H. G. B. GLOVER.  
3 Freshford House, Old Gloucester Street, W.C.1.

## WESTERN POWERS IN CHINA

YOUR PEACE NEWS reporter quotes Miss Helen F. Topping as saying that the present situation "was caused, in no small measure, by the action of the Western Powers in seizing all the best Chinese ports for their own advantage."

After about 40 years' residence in China, I venture to challenge Miss Topping to name a single port which has been "seized" and is today held by Western Powers for their own advantage. There is not one. If Hongkong is referred to, it must be stated that when it was ceded to Britain 95 years ago, it was only a fishing island, many miles away from the port of Canton, where the merchants did their business. Hongkong has since grown to be a great port because of Western enterprise, and it is free to all nations—including China and Japan—for all lawful purposes.

All the other "best" ports belong to China and have not been "seized." Shanghai is the chief port, and it is freely used by all nations. Every foot of land owned by foreigners at that port has been bought from the Chinese.

OWING to heavy pressure on space we have unfortunately been compelled to hold over as many letters as would have filled another page.

and nothing has been "seized." The Japanese possess great wharves there and they are the only nation which has used an international settlement "for their own advantage" as the base for an attack on China. This port is practically closed today, not because of what any Western Power is doing, but because it is dominated by Japanese warships.

The only port which today has the distinction of being "seized" from China is Dairen, in South Manchuria, taken from China under the aegis of Japan. Miss Topping admits that Japan "took the law into her own hands" because they didn't get all they expected from leased lands in Manchuria.

Can Miss Topping be serious when, speaking about China's disorganization, she says, "Japan would never have had their excuse for seizing control of Chinese territory if it had not been so"? By what code of morals would that be a justifiable excuse? When Japan's interests were threatened, or when she suffered wrong, there were better ways of adjustment than by seizing control of China's territory.

I. MASON.

43 Loxwood Avenue, Worthing.

While it seems clear to us that the meaning of the remarks in the interview referred to was simply that Western Powers had developed China's resources (particularly her ports) for their own purposes (rather than with the generous object of helping China to stand on her own feet), we are grateful to our correspondent, since it is certainly our wish to inform our readers correctly, for his information regarding these specific statements. Our reporter states that Miss Topping was clearly not herself excusing Japan but explaining Japan's excusing herself.—Ed.

### Pacifism

Why should pacifists ignore the idea of reduction and limitation of armaments? This step, taken and carried out by all peace-loving nations, would pave the way for disarmament.

M. J. DAVIS.  
W.C.1.

Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper only. Owing to the pressure on space we reserve the right to publish extracts from letters.

Correspondents must send their names and addresses, though not necessarily for publication.

### ARMISTICE DAY, 1937

#### SIMULTANEOUS MEETINGS CHRIST & PEACE

##### THE CENTRAL HALL

Westminster, S.W.1

Chairman: DR. CHARLES E. RAVEN

##### KINGSWAY HALL

Kingsway, W.C.2

Chairman: THE REV. HENRY CARTER

Speakers at both Halls:

THE RT. HON. GEORGE LANSBURY

DR. H. R. L. SHEPPARD

PASTEUR HENRI ROSER

DR. WILHELM SOLZBACHER

DR. DONALD O. SOPER

November 11, at 7.30 p.m.

1,000 seats free to the public. Tickets for numbered and reserved seats (reserved until 7.15 only), prices 2s. 6d. and 1s., obtainable of THE SECRETARY, COUNCIL OF CHRISTIAN PACIFIST GROUPS, 16 Victoria Street, London S.W.1.  
Please send stamped addressed envelope.



Cecil H. Wilson, M.P.

## UNDER BIG BEN

BY the time that this issue of PEACE NEWS is in readers' hands the State opening of Parliament by the King will have taken place and we shall probably have seen another of those occasions when there will be a full display of military accoutrements, as though the serious business to which Parliament must devote itself cannot be begun without something which bears no real relation to the growing needs of the people.

It was necessary to complete the 1936/37 session of Parliament and the House met on Thursday, October 21, when the Foreign Secretary dealt as fully as he was able with the events of the recess and did so in a House where there was an atmosphere of considerable anxiety.

From whatever angle we look at the world we are bound to recognize that the position of any Foreign Secretary is one bristling with difficulties and complexities, and that it is far more customary for us to look upon him with some suspicion and readiness to condemn when we think he makes a mistake, than to remember that day in and day out he is dealing with matters requiring the most delicate handling, and that while he is doing this we are assuming that what the Press tells us is the whole story.

Each of us, in the tiny quarter which we occupy in the world, has problems to face, which, however big they appear, involve few if any of the dangers a Foreign Secretary has to face and where the consequences of some wrong decision may mean an irretrievable disaster.

We do well to think of the countries and the men with whom he has to deal, some of whom appear to us, with our very limited knowledge, as far from amiable people. Each of them is probably suspicious of him, and many of them suspicious of one another.

Think, too, of the language difficulties and remember that if a Scot, a Lancastrian, a Northumbrian and a Cockney were to meet they could not understand one another, and so in foreign affairs there is always the danger that a word or a sentence in one language may when translated convey an altogether different meaning from what was intended. How careful we need to be in our judgments.

The debate on Thursday of last week, dealing as it did with Spain and China, was like almost all such debates and, whatever government is in power, directed by both sides far more to what may be regarded as the pointing out of the wrongs or weakness of the other side than to the seeking for or giving of information upon which it may be possible to form right opinions.

Such debates are supposed to have their value in what is called the method of "cut and thrust," which, while it may add to the interest of the occasion, does not call forth the best from any man.

The present situation is one of extreme perplexity, but before I could condemn a Foreign Secretary I should like to be quite sure that in the particular situation there was someone else who would and could do better.

## Mussolini's Latest Move Reveals Need for real Peace Conference

THE results of past and present warfare and the "need" for preparing for a possible future war are to be seen in the Italian drive toward self-sufficiency, discussion of which in the Central Corporative Committee was concluded last week when Mussolini declared that Italy must endeavour to achieve the greatest possible economic independence in the shortest possible time.

The same causes were admitted to be responsible for the new tax of ten percent on capital, announced last week, whose object is to balance the State Budget, with its annual deficit of about £38,000,000.

Italy's decision is largely the result of the economic policies of the more favoured nations since the War, and reveals a situation which will only be solved when a world conference is called to deal with the sane distribution of the world's resources.

Though much of her present position is immediately traceable to recent military adventures, Italy would not have undertaken the latter in the first place had not post-War developments driven her into them—given her power-politics outlook.

If Italy, or any other dissatisfied Power, should challenge the satisfied nations, a "peace" conference would have to follow the war that might well ensue. Let Great Britain call a real peace conference now, before any nation is driven to this final extremity.

The moral effect alone of a sincere offer to help to remove the very causes of fascism and war might have an incalculable effect within the totalitarian States. Recent trials of anti-fascists in Italy show that an underground opposition remains.

### DEADLOCK AGAIN

Meanwhile the war in Spain—the latest military adventure in which Italy has become embroiled—drags on.

Following unexpected progress in the Non-Intervention Sub-Committee last week, new obstacles arose when it attempted to give practical effect to principles already approved regarding the withdrawal of "volunteers" from Spain.

Italy and Portugal refused to pledge themselves to accept the reports of the commissions upon which it was proposed to base the proportions of "volunteers" to be taken from each side. But they later agreed. Count Grandi added that Italy would only accept the withdrawals scheme provided all other Powers would agree to act similarly—which the Russian representative refused to do.

A series of propositions were therefore referred to the governments concerned, in order to ascertain their views by the time the sub-committee met again on Tuesday.

### RIBBENTROP IN ROME

It became obvious that the problem of Spain is part of a world-wide problem when Herr von Ribbentrop flew to Rome last Friday and visited Signor Mussolini, with whom he is "reliably" reported to have discussed Italian plans in Spain and Italo-German collaboration in the Mediterranean.

A Geneva report in the *Manchester Guardian* added that Italy had been asked to become a party to the anti-Bolshevik pact between Germany and Japan, and that Palestine and Germany's colonial claims were other subjects discussed.

While discussions were dragging on in London, Gijon, last stronghold of the Asturias, fell to Franco's troops, but *The Times* commented: "It seems more improbable than ever that either of the contending factions will be able to conquer its rival outright."

Until action is taken to eradicate the problems of which foreign intervention

## "A GUARANTEE OF TROUBLE"

A. A. Milne on the Empire

GERMANY'S colonial claims continue to provide the theme for lengthy contributions by well-known people to the correspondence columns of *The Times*, of which the most striking recent example has come from Mr. A. A. Milne.

Taking Mr. L. S. Amery to task for the attitude revealed in the words:

The only ex-German colony held by the United Kingdom is Tanganyika. Does Lord Astor seriously suggest that we, or South Africa, can afford to contemplate the strategic risks involved in re-establishing Germany in this key position?

Mr. Milne wrote:

There shines the whole spirit of that elder statesmanship which leaves so many of us uncertain whether to laugh or to cry. A statesmanship which can still think of the final catastrophe of another European war in terms of key positions and strategic risks is a matter for tears, but the tears can only turn into hysterical laughter when we are told what the key position is.

Mr. Milne went on to rub in the foolishness of this attitude. . . .

And no doubt the British Cabinet, during the darkest days of the submarine campaign, often unrolled its map of Africa and renewed its confidence with the thought that Tanganyika was still there.

Other points from his letter were:—We shall get no general settlement in Europe if we start every argument with the major premise that the "security" of the least part of the Empire is not to be "threatened."

One has been told again and again by British statesmen that the British Empire is the greatest guarantee of peace in the world; that peace is the desire of every Englishman; that it is the other fellow who is always so damnably aggressive. No doubt they believe this sincerely. But it should still be possible for them to understand how the British Empire appears to the "other fellow."

Wherever the foreigner looks, he sees a British interest, wherever he moves, he is reminded that in one step he will be endangering a British interest.

There would be more hope, then, of what Lord Allen calls "an all-round peace settlement" if we began by realizing that to the rest of the world the British Empire is not a guarantee of peace but a guarantee of trouble. . . .

Above all let us remember, when we talk of strategic risks and key positions, that the tragedy of the next world war will not lie in the result of it but in the happening of it. Compared with the war itself, victory or defeat will be a triviality.

To endanger, in however small a degree, the chance of a peace settlement by an intransigent insistence on the key positions in the ensuing war would be criminal folly. To endanger it for a key position in the middle of Africa—O God! O Tanganyika!—there is nothing left to say.

Although Mr. Amery subsequently showed that he was unable to answer Mr. Milne's argument, saying that he thought that in his passage declaring that "the British Empire is not a guarantee of peace, but a guarantee of trouble," Mr. Milne "had answered himself," he must have overlooked the fact that in this assertion Mr. Milne was following no less a personality than Mr. Winston Churchill—no pacifist!—who but a few days before told a Navy League audience that "it must be remembered that we have, if we remain undefended, the fattest spoil and plunder for the hungry 'have-not' nations."

in Spain is but one symptom, support should be given to any move which may lead the Spaniards themselves to see the futility of the war, and may thus lead them to reach a negotiated peace—the only logical result of the present situation.

In Spain, as in the outside world, negotiations will have to begin some time. Why not now?

## Platform Pans

(Concluded from page 7, column 1)

Let us attack—with never-ceasing warfare—the evils themselves, the things that produce these national and international grievances and misunderstandings. There is no discharge in this war, and the qualities required for it are of the highest order—unassailable courage, tremendous will-strength, indomitable purpose, utter unselfishness, forbearance, imagination and understanding of the "other fellow's" ground of complaint. (Miss B. A. Watson, in a letter to the *Hull Mail*, October 8.)

### Commanding the Worker

ANOTHER comment from the post on Labour's support of "imperialism with its inevitable militarism":—

And the working man? Where does his interest come in, either in war or secret diplomacy? His toil, his low wages, his high cost of living, his rack-rented and often insanitary house, his periodic unemployment, his poorly educated children, his self-sacrificing wife, his narrow and crabbed life—these things abide with him, and war and secret diplomacy accentuate them.

And yet his toil and sacrifice are the foundations upon which all the glittering show of imperialism, with its inevitable militarism, is raised.

With a self-reliant working class there could be no secret diplomacy, no arrogant militarism, no war; and no stream of untold wealth pouring into the coffers of the rich.

It is the worker who takes all the risks to life and health of raising minerals from the bowels of the earth; of working in a modern form of Gehenna to smelt them into iron and steel. It is his toil and skill which transforms them into mighty warships. . . .

And when a set of selfish and incompetent statesmen have plunged nations into shedding each other's blood, it is the worker who is called upon to line the trenches; to fill the horrid graves of war by tens of thousands; to murder his fellow worker with whom he has not, and never had, any quarrel. It is the worker who is commanded, under the penalty of being branded as a "traitor," to carry woe and desolation into the hearts of millions of women folk and children.

Keir Hardie, December, 1914.

Yet Labour supports the very thing that will thus command the worker.

### Risen

WE are told (writes a Romford correspondent) that Mr. J. Walker said at the Bournemouth Labour conference that

Man is not a fallen angel; he is a risen ape, and from what we can see man is the most ferocious of all the beasts of prey.

Alas! How true! The apes go up twenty feet and drop coconuts full of milk. But man (risen ape) goes up two thousand feet and drops coconuts full of thermite and poison gas.

### Failure of Force

"UNTIL I read *The War in Outline*, by Capt. Liddell Hart," writes a correspondent from Carshalton Beeches, "I never knew of this astounding admission of the failure of the British tradition":

On April 29, 1916, Kut was forced to surrender—after the British Government . . . had made a vain and ill-judged effort to bribe the Turks by an offer of a million pounds, then raised to two, to let the garrison go free. (Ch. 8, "Mesopot," p. 109.)

"It ought to be broadcast throughout the land showing up, as it does, the emptiness of our over-vaunted self-praise as champions of uprightness and, of course, the fallacy of war glorification."

## LATE NEWS

Since our announcement last week it has been found impossible for James H. Hudson to write this feature.

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## Peace News

October 30, 1937

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### BOOKS

**PEACE PLEDGE UNION** Library: This is to remind you that there is a library of pacifist books at P.P.U. Headquarters. Catalogue and borrowing conditions on application to the Librarian, Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

### DRAMATIC

**THE "OLD BRONDESURIANS"** present John van Druten's pacifist play *Flowers of the Forest* at the Kilburn Grammar School, Salisbury Road, N.W.6, on Saturday, November 6 at 8 p.m. Tickets (2s. 6d. reserved and 1s. 6d.) from Miss Molly Pike, 29 Barn Hill, Wembley Park. Tel. Arnold 3754.

### EDUCATIONAL

**WE BUILD for Peace**—May we send a prospectus:—Felcourt School, East Grinstead.

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### MEETINGS

**PEACE PROBLEMS** Study Group will meet next Monday at 8.15 p.m. at 129 Gloucester Terrace, W.2, near Lancaster Gate Station. All interested are welcome.

**FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION** (London Union). A Fellowship Hour, for communion with God and each other, led by Rev. Alan Balding, is being held the third Monday in each month, from 6 to 7 p.m., at 165 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

**"SI VIS PACEM PARA PACEM" "LIBERTY AND FRATERNITY" "ACTA NON VERBA"**

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October 31, Rev. Will Hayes.—"STUDY TO BE QUIET: My Message for this Age of Din and Clatter when every house has its Noise-Box."

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## DIARY OF THE WEEK

### October

30—Nov. 1 (Sat.—Mon.) High Leigh, HODDESDON, Herts.; autumn conference on "Pacifism and the League"; Federation of Progressive Societies, 4 Fitzroy Street, W.1.

31 (Sun.) 8 p.m. Rex Theatre, WILMSLOW; Canon Stuart Morris on "The Best Answer to Aggression"; P.P.U.

### November

1 (Mon.) 8 p.m. Public Baths, Manchester Road, CHORLTON-CUM-HARDY, Manchester; Capt. Philip Mumford and others; P.P.U. Tickets for reserved seats (6d. and 1s.) from 60 South Drive, Chorltonville, Manchester.

1—6 (Mon.—Sat.) WREXHAM peace week; peace exhibition and public meetings; particulars from Mr. Walter Williams, "Hafodycoed," 51 Court Road, Wrexham.

2 (Tues.) 3 p.m. Cooperative Meeting Room, 54a Percy Road, WHITTON; John Barclay on "Work of the Peace Pledge Union"; Women's Cooperative Guild.

7.45 p.m. King's Weigh House (Club Entrance), Thomas Street, LONDON, W.1; London Group Leaders meeting (including four short films); P.P.U.

8 p.m. Methodist Church, BEXLEYHEATH; debate on "Christianity and War"; P.P.U.

3 (Wed.) 8 p.m. Wild Court, KINGSWAY; open-air meeting; Methodist Peace Fellowship.

4 (Thurs.) 1.10—2 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row, E.C.4; Rev. Reginald Sorensen on "Technique of Pacifism"; City P.P.U. group.

3 p.m. and 7.30 p.m. Cooperative Hall, Park Road, PETERBOROUGH; film show including *Kameradschaft*; P.P.U.

5.30 onward, 13 Paternoster Row, E.C.4; Mr. G. E. Turner on "Christian Pacifist Party"; City P.P.U. group.

7.30—8.30 p.m. CHATHAM; West Kent anti-black-out demonstration; coach from Regent Street, 6 p.m.

7.30 p.m. King George's Hall, BLACKBURN; Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard, Laurence Housman and James H. Hudson (chairman) at Peace Rally; Joint Pacifist Council.

8 p.m. Public Library, Lofting Road, WEST ISLINGTON; Dr. Donald Soper, Rev. A. J. Prichard and John Barclay; P.P.U.

4—18 (Thurs.—Thurs.) 102 Station Road, SIDCUP; peace shop; official opening Saturday, November 6, at 4 p.m.; Sidcup and

### Chislehurst P.P.U.

5 (Fri.) 7.30 p.m. Y.M.C.A. Hall, BLACKBURN; public debate, "Is War Ever Justifiable?"; for George E. Rush and Councillor C. Ronald Davies; against, Rev. Dr. E. G. Braham and Councillor G. B. Eddie; Joint Pacifist Council. 7.45 p.m. Congregational Church School, BESSES O' TH' BARN, Manchester; Laurence Housman and local clergy, Dr. E. Vipond Brown (chairman); P.P.U.

8 p.m. Town Hall, MAIDENHEAD; discussion, "Pacifism and War"; Canon Stuart Morris and Canon C. E. M. Fry; P.P.U.

6 (Sat.) 7.30 p.m. Parish Hall, West Street, ERITH; social evening; P.P.U.

7.30 p.m. Trinity Methodist School, BLACKBURN; play readings and social; Joint Pacifist Council.

7.30 p.m. Methodist Church, NEASDEN; concert and peace play *Young Heaven*; Methodist Peace Fellowship.

8 p.m. Grammar School, Salisbury Road, KILBURN; the "Old Bron-desburians" present the pacifist play *Flowers of the Forest*. Tickets (2s. 6d. reserved and 1s. 6d.) from Miss Molly Pike, 29 Barn Hill, Wembley Park.

6—14 (Sat.—Sun.) SUTTON and DISTRICT peace week; help welcomed for poster parade, November 6; meet Congregational Church Hall, Carshalton Road, Sutton, from 3—6 p.m.

7 (Sun.) 3 p.m. Rex Cinema, NORBURY; Canon S. D. Morris, Miss E. Thorneycroft and Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard (chairman); P.P.U. 8.15 p.m. Repertory Theatre, NORTHAMPTON; Armistice meeting; Rev. Henry Carter and Laurence Housman; Peace Council.

7—14 (Sun.—Sun.) WOOD GREEN and SOUTHGATE Peace Week; Peace Council.

### Coming Shortly

November 8, 7.30 p.m. Albert Hall, NOTTINGHAM; Lord Ponsonby, Rev. Henry Carter, Rev. Osborne Gregory (chairman). Admission free. Reserved seats 6d.

November 8, Regal Hall, North Road, DURHAM; Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard, Canon Stuart Morris and Mr. William Carr (chairman) at peace demonstration; P.P.U. tickets (6d. reserved) from Mrs. Howden, 17 Goatbeck Terrace, Langley Moor.

November 14—20, ALTON; peace week; P.P.U.

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